

✓ 275098

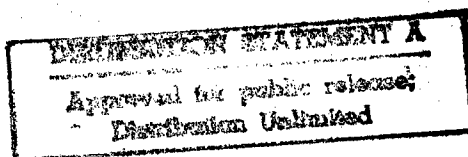
JPRS-UPA-87-013

14 JULY 1987



**FOREIGN  
BROADCAST  
INFORMATION  
SERVICE**

# ***JPRS Report***



## **Soviet Union**

***Political Affairs***

REPRODUCED BY  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE  
NATIONAL TECHNICAL  
INFORMATION SERVICE  
SPRINGFIELD, VA 22161

19980812 162

10  
118  
A06

14 JULY 1987

Soviet books and journal articles displaying a copyright notice are reproduced and sold by NTIS with permission of the copyright agency of the Soviet Union. Permission for further reproduction must be obtained from copyright owner.

## SOVIET UNION POLITICAL AFFAIRS

### CONTENTS

#### PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

|   |   |
|---|---|
| Ternopol Obkom Selects 1st Secretary, Discusses Local Economy<br>(PRAVDA UKRAINY, 21 Mar 87) .....            | 1 |
| Former Leadership of Khorezm Obkom Blasted<br>(F. Zohidov; SOVET OZBEKISTONI, 13 Feb 87) .....                | 4 |
| Uzbeks Nominate Two Candidates for Gorkom Secretary<br>(A. Rahimberdiyev; SOVET OZBEKISTONI, 26 Feb 87) ..... | 5 |
| Uzbek Komsomols Must Improve Ideological Work<br>(SOVET OZBEKISTONI, 20 Feb 87) .....                         | 5 |
| Data on Uzbek Komsomols Cited<br>(SOVET OZBEKISTONI, 20 Feb 87) .....   | 6 |

#### MEDIA, PROPAGANDA

|   |    |
|---|----|
| American Central Asian Specialists Slammed<br>(Pirmat Shermuhamedov; OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI,<br>6 Feb 87) .....                | 8  |
| Uzbek Raps Western Broadcasts on Central Asia, Alma-Ata Riots<br>(Haydarali Uzoqov; OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"TI,<br>13 Feb 87) ..... | 9  |
| Uzbek Repatriate's Life Abroad Profiled<br>(R. Shagayev; SOVET OZBEKISTONI, 5 Feb 87) .....   | 10 |

#### RELIGION

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Tour Guide to Uzbek Holy Sites Exposed<br>(F. Zohidov; SOVET OZBEKISTONI, 1 Feb 87) ..... | 12 |
|---|----|

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Atheistic Works Published in Uzbek<br>(SOVET OZBEKISTONI, 20 Feb 87) ..... | 12 |
|--|----|

## CULTURE

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Writer Granin Responds to Readers on 'Lysenko Effect'<br>(Daniil Granin Interview; LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 27 May 87) ..        | 14 |
| Failure To Publish Vysotskiy's Poetry Deplored<br>(V. Badov, B. Zemtsov; KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, 13 May 87) ..                  | 27 |
| Project Upheld for Cooperative Publishing House<br>(Nikolay Voronov; LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 4 Mar 87) .....                    | 29 |
| Youth Paper Views 'Pamyat' Group's Activities<br>(Ye. Losto; KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, 22 May 87) .....                           | 34 |
| Goskino Chairman Kamshalov Meets With Newsmen<br>(A. Lebedev; IZVESTIYA, 8 May 87) .....                                      | 44 |
| Opinion Poll Shows Mixed Audience, Views on Film 'Repentance'<br>(A. Bogdanov, V. Vilchek; SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 9 Apr 87) ..   | 47 |
| Removal of Foreign Films Causes Loss of 30 Million Rubles<br>(G. Melekhov; IZVESTIYA, 6 Apr 87) .....                         | 53 |
| IZVESTIYA on Plight of Moscow's Vakhtangov Theater<br>(M. Shvydkoy; IZVESTIYA, 12 May 87) .....                               | 57 |
| Artists Feel Realism Is Losing Ground to 'Avant-Gardism'<br>(V. Kemenov Interview; PRAVDA, 18 May 87) .....                   | 59 |
| RSFSR Artist Deplores 'Murky' Avant-Gardism<br>(P. Chusovitin; SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 16 May 87) .....                           | 62 |
| Moscow Artist Discusses Role of Creative Union<br>(O. Savostyuk Interview; MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, 19 May 87) ..                  | 65 |
| State of Soviet Music Criticized<br>(SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 12 May 87) .....   | 67 |
| Leaders Sign Obituary of Writer Konovalov<br>(G. I. Konovalov; PRAVDA, 22 Apr 87) .....                                       | 68 |
| Former Leadership of Uzbek Writers Union Scored<br>(Temur Polatov; OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI, 6 Feb 87)                 | 69 |
| Afghan Uzbek Newspaper Covers Cultural Heritage<br>(Tokhtamurod Zufarov; OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI,<br>20 Feb 87) ..... | 70 |
| Concern Voiced for Decline in Crimean Tatar Readership<br>(Shokir Selimov; OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI, 20 Feb 87)        | 70 |

## SOCIAL ISSUES

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Moscow TV Interviews Procuracy Official<br>(Oleg Vasiliyevich Soroka Interview; Moscow Television<br>Service, 14 May 87) .....      | 71  |
| RSFSR Justice Minister Interviewed on Legal Reforms<br>(A. Ya. Sukharev; Moscow Domestic Service, 17 May 87) ...                    | 78  |
| RSFSR Daily Interviews Criminologist I. Karpets<br>(I. I. Karpets Interview; SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 14 May 87).                        | 86  |
| IZVESTIYA Reports MVD Briefing on Cadres<br>(G. Alimov; IZVESTIYA, 27 May 87) .....   | 90  |
| PRAVDA Reports on Routine of Border Guard Life<br>(P. Studenikin; PRAVDA, 28 May 87) .....  | 91  |
| Militiamen Disciplined Over Auto Theft<br>(LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 27 May 87) .....   | 95  |
| Battered Wife Kills Alcoholic Husband, Gets Minor Sentence<br>(D. Bratanovskiy, N. Morozov; IZVESTIYA, 11 May 87) .....             | 98  |
| Lithuanian Nationalist Confesses to Anti-Social Activity<br>(Kostas Meidunas; SOVETSKAYA LITVA, 19 May 87) .....                    | 102 |
| Uzbek Prosecutor Reveals Law and Order Excesses<br>(Aleksey Buturlin Interview; OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI<br>VA SAN"ATI, 6 Feb 87) ..... | 106 |
| Uzbek Deputy Prosecutor Discusses Quality Problem<br>(Q. Roziqov; SOVET OZBEKISTONI, 28 Feb 87) .....                               | 107 |
| Uzbek Agencies Urged To Improve Legal Education<br>(SOVET OZBEKISTONI, 28 Feb 87) .....   | 107 |
| Uzbek Officers Executed for Killing Policeman<br>(SOVET OZBEKISTONI, 13 Feb 87) .....   | 108 |
| Prosecution of Uzbek Mental Patient Termed Unjustified<br>(OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI, 13 Feb 87) .....                        | 108 |
| Drug Trafficking Between Fergana, Turkmenistan Combatted<br>(N. Naimov; SOVET OZBEKISTONI, 14 Feb 87) .....                         | 109 |
| Drug Dealing in Khorezm Oblast Discussed<br>(F. Zohidov; SOVET OZBEKISTONI, 28 Feb 87) .....  | 110 |
| Ideological Contraband Seized by Tashkent Customs<br>(A. Abdubannopov; SOVET OZBEKISTONI, 19 Feb 87) .....                          | 110 |

## REGIONAL ISSUES

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Aral Sea Problem Discussed<br>(Ma'ruf Jalil; OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN'ATI, 20 Feb 87)              | 112 |
| Uzbek Geologists Set Up Information System<br>(M. Komilkhojayeva; SOVET OZBEKISTONI, 11 Feb 87) ..... | 113 |
| Reports on Uzbek Workers in Nonchernozem Zone<br>(G. Gorelik; SOVET OZBEKISTONI, 11 Feb 87) .....     | 113 |

/9987

PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

TERNOPOL OBKOM SELECTS 1ST SECRETARY, DISCUSSES LOCAL ECONOMY

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 21 Mar 87 p 3

[RATAU report on the Ternopol Obkom Plenum held 20 March 1987: "Work Creatively and Support the New, Progressive Way"]

[Text] The Ternopol Party Obkom Plenum took place on 20 March. Participants discussed a report from the Gussyatinskiy Party Raykom on implementing the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Party Congress and the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum on reforming party work.

At the plenum it was noted that, after the party congress, there was a change in people's attitude toward organizational work in the rayon. Efficiency and a constructive attitude toward resolving key problems in developing the national economy and, first of all, the rayon's leading economic sector, agricultural production, are being strengthened. This has a positive affect on business. Last year, plans for production and sale to the state were fulfilled for all major types of agricultural products.

At the same time, the restructuring work conducted in the rayon does not meet the requirements of the 27th CPSU Party Congress or the aims of the January Central Committee Plenum. Those who addressed the plenum pointed out that the party raykom and its buro did not exploit fully the potential for profound, qualitative changes in the economic and social life of the rayon. The work of party organizations, soviet and economic organs and labor collectives is still insufficiently oriented toward the search for and utilization of reserves for growth in labor productivity, for raising production quality and for intensification of the campaign for economy.

Not all of the primary party organizations have adopted a position of intolerance toward shortfalls. They do not always direct the labor collectives toward the use of modern work methods or the achievement of lofty end results.

It has been emphasized that the fate of the plans is decided in labor collectives and it is precisely there that the brunt of party work should be moved. This is especially important for the Gussyatinskiy Rayon. In 1986, industry in the rayon could not manage to fulfill plans for production and output and for increasing labor productivity. Full delivery according to

contracts was not guaranteed. The change over of enterprises to 2 and 3-shift work systems, to making them pay for themselves, and to self-financing is slow to be carried out. There are large losses due to defects, and the volume of popular consumer goods production has been curtailed.

Instability is apparent, even in the agro-industrial complex. Seven collective farms did not fulfill the plan for sugar beet procurement and 1 farm in 4 took in 6-11 quintals of winter wheat less than the rayon average.

It was pointed out at the plenum that, in order to correct the situation, not only must organizational work be improved radically, its effectiveness must be increased. To do this, it is very important that proper supervision over the implementation of the adopted resolutions be established.

It was noted that the complexity and scale of the tasks facing us require that party raykoms change the style and form of their work. As analysis has shown, they are a long way from carrying out the demands of reform everywhere and especially at the rayon level. S.A. Tislitskaya, chairman of the Podolye kolkhoz in the Ternopolskiy Rayon, N.S. Mikolyuk, chairman of the Podvolochissskiy Party Raykom, and P.V. Ilishchuk, chairman of the Terebovlyanskiy RAPO spoke about this at the plenum.

The poor performance of raykom buro members in examining urgent problems and the lethargy of the buro secretaries, M.N. Urda and L.N. Sokolskaya, were also pointed out. The practice of substituting for soviet and economic organs has not been eliminated. The raykom first secretary, A.I. Korinyevich, often resolves problems himself -- even technical ones. The chairman of the rayispolkom, A.I. Nalzhityy, and RAPO chairman V.N. Stelmashchuk also were severely criticized.

Along with the critical review of the work of the Gusyatinskiy Party Raykom, participants in the plenum devoted a lot of attention to the tasks facing the oblast as a whole, analyzed in detail what had been done over the period following the 27th CPSU Congress, and uncovered available reserves. It was noted that the economy of the Ternopol Oblast grew dynamically in the first year of the 5-year plan. Plans and socialist obligations were fulfilled for a majority of indicators. Gross agricultural output increased by 8.4 percent. Grain yield comprised 34.7 quintals per acre and there is not a single unprofitable farm in the oblast.

But all the same, say those who spoke at the plenum, if you look at the state of affairs from the standpoint of the requirements of the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum it becomes clear that far from all reserves are being utilized. Many collectives still have not overcome stagnation and some people are inclined even to overrate achievements. Work results themselves say otherwise. In 1986, for example, oblast industrial output was a lot less with regard to delivery commitments. The relative share of high grade output in volume of all goods comprises 12 percent overall. By this indicator, the oblast ranks near the bottom in the republic.

There are more than a few unresolved problems in the branches of the agro-industrial complex. The oblast's natural climatic conditions and the

available material and technical base allow for a 37-40 quintal grain harvest -- even more in the Gusyatinskiy rayon. So new capabilities and reserves must be found. Our task is to exceed the plan level of gross grain output by 10-12 percent.

Increasing the efficiency of sugar beet production remains a severe problem. In the past year alone, plan delivery of beets was short 150,000 tons. The reasons for this were pointed out at the plenum: crop cultivation techniques are not being followed, advanced methods are poorly used, and the pressing problems of this branch of industry are slow to be resolved. M.V. Zemba, machinist group leader for stacking machines at the Khorostkovsk Komsomolets Sugar Plant spoke about this at the plenum. He criticized G.I. Garmonik, general director of the oblast Sveklosakharprom Association and the managers of the oblast Agroprom who do not take the necessary measures to ensure an uninterrupted technological cycle at the enterprise.

Raising productivity in animal husbandry to increase milk and meat production is a major pursuit. To do this, all capabilities must be fully utilized, including people's private subsidiary plots. We must employ economic key factors competently, bravely change over to a self-financing system and, on a new basis, develop specialization and cooperation of economies. Work begun in the oblast to introduce family and individual contracts, cooperatives and scientific and industrial systems should be promoted.

It was emphasized at the plenum that Gusyatinskiy Rayon and others must discard their obsolete style to ensure the close cooperation and well coordinated work of all state and economic management systems and their practical participation in the renewal of all aspects of public life. We must strive to get every worker to understand profoundly the acuteness and pivotal nature of the opportunity we are experiencing and to take part conscientiously in the reform. Party committees must continuously examine the course of reform to determine "bottlenecks" at the proper time, to see the sprouts of the new way of doing things, and to support those who bravely tear down obstacles to achieve good results.

The plenum reviewed an organizational problem. A.I. Kornienko was relieved of his responsibilities as first secretary of the party obkom in connection with his confirmation as head of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Party-Organizational Work Department. V.E. Ostrozhinskiy, former second secretary of the Zhitomir Party Obkom, was chosen first secretary of the Ternopol Party Obkom.

I.A. Mozgovoy, politburo member and secretary of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee, addressed the plenum.

13254

CSO: 1800/485



FORMER LEADERSHIP OF KHOREZM OBKOM BLASTED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 13 February 1987 carries on page 3 a 2,400-word article by own correspondent F. Zohidov entitled "Mistakes and Lessons" in which he criticizes the errors made by the former leadership of the oblast party committee. He states that in recent years the pace of economic development in the oblast had slowed, primarily because former leaders were attached to worthless methods and permitted gross errors in their work. They failed to adequately assess the role of science and technology in progress and violated Leninist principles of collectivism and cadre policy. Specifically, he charges, "M. Khudoyberganov, who worked as first secretary of the oblast party committee for many years (and who is now under arrest for bribe-taking), considered himself a leader who could do anything he wished unchecked by law, and indulged in self-interest and arrogance. He selected cadres without regard to their efficiency or qualifications, but only according to features of personal loyalty, servility, toadyism, and compatriotism. The majority of rayon party committee secretaries and farm leaders were such people."

The correspondent points out that those who violated law and order, abused their positions, and indulged in private ownership formed a broad circle in the oblast. Oblast and rayon party committees contributed to this unhealthy atmosphere by permitting errors in the selection and education of cadres and stifling criticism. L. Asqarova, a buro member of the obkom and a gorkom first secretary, was persecuted for criticizing obkom leaders. Now, steps are being taken to correct these errors. Formalism in conducting plenums, assemblies, and meetings is being eliminated, and the power of democracy and open criticism is being felt. A number of leaders are being held to account. For example, M. Vaisov, former first secretary of the Kushkapir Raykom, and various rayon farm leaders have been expelled from the party and criminally prosecuted for filing false reports on a massive scale and other crimes.

Nonetheless, Zohidov acknowledges that negative practices survive. A number of leaders still try to get elaborate privileges and place their own above public interests. A radical restructuring of the work of law and order organs is needed to ensure that social justice and the constitutional rights of citizens are observed. Moreover, party organizations continue to take a superficial approach to restructuring their ideological and political education work.

## UZBEKS NOMINATE TWO CANDIDATES FOR GORKOM SECRETARY

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 26 February 1987 carries on page 4 an 800-word article by own special correspondent A. Rahimberdiyev entitled "Trust" in which he reports that the names of two candidates for the election of an Almalyk City Party Committee secretary were placed on the agenda of a gorkom plenum. When N. Kalimulina, who held the post of secretary for many years, requested to be relieved in connection with her transfer to other work, the election had to be held. According to the correspondent, "However, when two nominees were proposed for the position the hall became so silent you could have heard water dripping from a faucet. This was truly an extraordinary event for the plenum communists. It had never been done before. Because formerly only one candidate was proposed and his name was recommended by a higher organization."

Rahimberdiyev notes that Sh.Z. Kamolkhojayev, an obkom secretary who took part in the plenum, spoke about the need for party organizations to begin the task of deepening democratic procedures. Since the participants would work with the future secretary it was appropriate that they should be entrusted with the selection process. The two nominees were V.A. Monakhova chief of the gorkom's agitprop department, and Z.F. Fazilova, director of secondary school 5. City party activists and others expressed their recommendations of both as principled communists, organizers, and educators. At the closed ballot vote V.A. Monakhova was elected to the secretariat by a majority. Her experience in party work was taken as the decisive factor. At the same time, Z. Fazilova was recommended for the post of chief of the agitprop department, but her request not to be nominated since she felt she would be more useful in her present work was honored by the plenum participants.

## UZBEK KOMSOMOLS MUST IMPROVE IDEOLOGICAL WORK

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 20 February 1987 carries on page 3 a 1,100-word editorial entitled "Komsomols and Restructuring" which states that on the eve of the 23rd Congress of Uzbek Komsomols the party is placing even greater demands on komsomols. They must stand in the front ranks of the restructuring program. Party organizations must increase their attention to the ideological, political, and ethical tempering of youths, and free themselves of outdated methods like excessive admonishments and paperwork. The editorial points out that some komsomol organizations are slack in the ideological and moral education of young people. Some still rely on adopting general measures rather than on working closely with young people. Because of their distant approach some leaders of komsomol organizations have become subject to hypocrisy. Such is the case in Orzhonikidze Rayon. Although leaders of the rayon komsomol committee urge young people to put a stop to drunkenness, they themselves indulge in drinking. A. Nukarov, a secretary of the committee, caused an automobile accident while under the influence. This case is evidence of the slackness of party leadership over the komsomol.

Party and komsomol organizations have the duty to educate youths in a spirit of intolerance for ideology and behavior alien to Soviet society and to propagate the newest customs and ceremonies among them. However, their work in this area is unsatisfactory. The editorial notes that the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Communications is complacent toward the survival of vestiges of the past among the young employees in its special communications unit. S. Tursunov, a secretary of the unit's komsomol organization, recently was discussed by the Tashkent Gorkom Buro and expelled from the party for arranging religious ceremonies and conduct unbecoming a communist. The editorial calls for a halt to elevating people who lack initiative or political qualifications to positions of leadership.

#### DATA ON UZBEK KOMSOMOLS CITED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 20 February 1987 carries on page 3 a 400-word feature entitled "Facts and Figures" which includes the following information on Uzbek komsomols:

- In the past five years over 200,000 komsomols have worked in republic student construction detachments.
- Last year over 400,000 students worked in "Labor is Pleasure" camps, student production brigades, and repair and construction detachments, and accomplished R65 million worth of work.
- Within the komsomol political studies system 836,000 komsomols took courses on Marxist-Leninist theory and economics.
- Last year 3,166 young volunteers were sent to All-Union komsomol shockwork construction sites and 11,780 to various service sectors.
- Over 5,000 student production brigades and squads with 175,000 secondary school students operate in the republic.
- In the republic 22,976 VLKSM members have been elected as deputies to the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet and local soviets.
- The Uzbek Lenin Komsomol has a membership of over 3.3 million youths.
- Uzbek komsomols are working on 8 All-Union and 13 republic komsomol shockwork construction sites, including energy, chemical, oil and gas production projects. During the 11th Five-Year Plan over 19,000 republic youths were sent to such sites, including 10,000 to West Siberia, the Far East, and the Nonchernozem zone.

#### UZBEK LOCAL SOVIETS CRITICIZED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 11 February 1987 carries on page 2 a 2,400-word unsigned article entitled "Local Soviets at a New Stage" which states the executive committees of local soviets are becoming organs that issue directives as is their right rather than organs that make requests of leaders of establishments and enterprises subordinate to higher organizations. However, the article points out, a number of local soviets in the republic have been slow to exercise their rights in providing leadership over economic and social-cultural construction. Numerous oblast, rayon, and city soviets do not review or express their opinions of the plans of enterprises, establishments, and organizations within their jurisdictions, and numerous soviets have not corrected their shortcomings in establishing leadership over the agroindustrial complex and in increasing the responsibility of farm leaders.

The article notes that many important problems are being discussed at soviet sessions, and more standing commissions and specialists are being called upon to prepare these issues for discussion. Nonetheless, the work of numerous sessions remains below current demands. There are too many speeches of an impractical nature which do not clarify the causes of shortcomings or contain plans for correcting them. In many sessions only a few pre-appointed deputies speak. Decisions adopted at sessions lack concreteness and fail to specify tasks and schedules for carrying them out.

The article faults local soviets for not making use of established forms in supervising the execution of adopted decisions. The inquiry form and standing commissions have a great potential in this task. The article notes that 27,403 deputies of local soviets met their 1986 plans ahead of schedule and 1,128 did two year's work in one. However, some deputies are not in the forefront in their collectives. In 1986, 167 deputies were recalled because the farms they headed failed to meet their plans. Another shortcoming is the failure of deputies to make reports to the public. In 1986, nine executive committees and 168 of their departments and administrations failed to make public reports, as is required by the constitution.

9439

CSO: 1836/406

# AMERICAN CENTRAL ASIAN SPECIALISTS SLAMMED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI in Uzbek on 6 February 1987 carries on pages 5 and 7 a 2,200-word article by Pirmat Shermuhamedov entitled "'People with Tails'" in which he counters various claims made by American and other Western specialists about Central Asian culture. He takes issue with the views expressed by William Fierman in an article that appeared in the journal CAHIERS DU MONDE RUSSE ET SOVIETIQUE. According to Fierman it is impossible to instill national feelings in the peoples of Central Asia and there exists a permanent conflict between Soviet peoples. Moreover, Fierman writes about Uzbek authors: "There are designated themes for Uzbek writers. These themes are the following: the successes achieved since the Revolution, the progressive significance of the Russian annexation of Turkestan, the figure of the genius Lenin, the friendship of peoples, the fight against religion, the organizational role of women, and the inevitability of the victory of communism. A work which does not deal with these themes is not published." Shermuhamedov responds that these themes are considered sacred by Soviet writers. When the Revolution liberated Central Asian peoples they had the opportunity to learn about Russian literature and culture. Writers are proud to deal with this and other themes, but this does not mean that a work without them will not be published. Uzbek writers treat a variety of social, political, and ethical problems which, apparently, do not interest Fierman.

Shermuhamedov states that Michael Rywkin does not lag behind Fierman in weaving falsehoods. Rywkin's book "Muslim Relations with Moscow: Soviet Central Asia" does not allow room for scientific facts, objective truth, or evidence. Rywkin expresses his dislike of Soviet folklorists who criticize the Manas and Alpamish epics because they contain Pan-Islamic tendencies, and writes that the interest of Central Asian peoples in their historical past is reflected in historical novels. According to Rywkin, Odil Yoqubov's "Ulugbek's Treasury," Mirmuhsin's "The Architect" and pirimqul Qodirov's "Starry Nights" are marked by national peculiarities.

Shermuhamedov cites the views of R. Qochar whose article "Examples of the Themes of Affinity and Brotherhood in Modern Turkestani Poetry" advances the idea of two orientations. Supporters of the first orientation propagate communist ideas by force and even try to destroy literature and art of Turkestani origin. The true goal of supporters of the second orientation is to restore the national independence of Turkestan. Supposedly the first type earn the gratitude of the party, while the second type may support the Soviet regime in words, but not in practice.

According to Qochar the poems of several Central Asian writers conceal the idea of the unification of Turkic peoples.

Shermuhamedov brings up an article by David Montgomery entitled "The Shohimardon, an Inseparable Part of the Uzbek Soviet Literary Heritage," which appeared in the journal CENTRAL ASIAN SURVEY. Montgomery claims that in the "Shohimardon" poem Hamid Olimjon praised the revolutionary poet Hamza in order to achieve his personal goal of being elected head of the Uzbek Writers Union, and that is the only reason this poem supports the Soviet system. In his article in CENTRAL ASIAN SURVEY Fierman deals with the works of two young Uzbek writers. According to Fierman, nationalist ideas are reflected in the stories "Kiowa Sun" by Khurshid Davran and "On the Lake Shore" and "Sun and Fire" by Alisher Ibodinov. First of all, Shermuhamedov states, "Kiowa Sun" was written by Khurshid Dostmuhamedov, not Khurshid Davron. And secondly, Fierman's analysis differs from the author's intent. Fierman wishes to see the Indians of the story as Uzbeks and the American farmers as Russians, and concludes that the story's main thrust is an expose of Russian colonizers.

Shermuhamedov points to Edward Allworth as another specialist whose analysis distorts historical truth and the friendship of peoples. For example, in his article "A Document on the Cultural Life Led by Soviet Uzbeks Outside the Republic," Allworth analyzes the "Memoirs" of Yoqub Mosheyev, a producer who lived in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan and then emigrated. He claims that Mosheyev suffered persecution due to his extraordinary creativity and honesty, and that his production of Uyghun's play "Friends" was never performed because party and soviet leaders were afraid of the issues dealt with by the play.

Shermuhamedov concludes that the goal of these articles by Allworth and others are obvious, and that is to condemn the Soviet way of life through any means possible, "but it is impossible to block the light of truth about the country of the soviets."

#### UZBEK RAPS WESTERN BROADCASTS ON CENTRAL ASIA, ALMA-ATA RIOTS

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI in Uzbek on 13 February 1987 carries on page 7 a 1,000-word article by Candidate of Philology Haydarali Uzoqov entitled "Unintelligible Voices" in which he asserts that foreign journalists in the Soviet Union abet the CIA in spreading anti-Soviet propaganda. These journalists frequent places where large crowds gather and collect their "facts" by taking advantage of the credulity of a few people. Later they wrap these rumors in slander and send them to the CIA which processes these "facts" and distributes them to the Voice of America, Radio Liberty and other mass media establishments which broadcast them in languages of the Soviet Union. Radio Liberty transmits anti-Soviet attacks written by such traitors as Baymirza Hayit and read in a solemn voice that pretends to be helping Soviet youth. Voice of America transmits its subversive programs daily in Uzbek, Azeri, Turkmen, Kazak, Kirgiz, Tajik, Russian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian. Uzoqov states that the open announcement by the Soviet press of the recent events in Alma-Ata constitutes proof that Soviet propaganda is distinguished from bourgeois propaganda by its openness, objectivity, and truthfulness.

However, the destructive propagandists of Voice of America adapted these events to their own purposes and presented them as political in nature and connected with daily unrest.

Uzoqov cites the work "Ethnic Autonomy: Comparative Dynamics" by the American David Lindgren as an example of the dissemination of slander and falsehood. According to Lindgren, Central Asian peoples rightly complain about the undeveloped health and educational services, the shortage of doctors even in the cities, the lack of access to information because they do not know Russian well enough, and for the same reason the difficulty in gaining adequate professional skills. Lindgren writes, "The inequality between Russians and other nationalities is confirmed by the conviction of other nationalities that the Russians possess all the material and spiritual wealth in the republics." Supposedly, this situation creates discord among the Central Asian nationalities and dissatisfaction with the Soviet system. However, Uzoqov states, Central Asian peoples study in their mother tongues and voluntarily master Russian as a second language, while at the same time millions of minority peoples in America are deprived of the right to study and write in their own languages and are forced to learn English or remain illiterate.

Uzoqov asserts that bourgeois propagandists attempt to distort the attitude toward Islam in the USSR, even though they know full well that the Soviet government fully and realistically solved this problem from its first days. Nonetheless, they claim that adherents of Islam are being arrested and driven away from religion by force. Moreover, they pit Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan, and the Arab countries against the Soviet union by their pretended concern for Soviet Muslims. Uzoqov concludes, "We must expose the hypocrisy of foreign propaganda...It is extremely important to not only expose the slander and prevarications of bourgeois propaganda, but also to analyze on the basis of concrete examples the root causes of the sharp differences between the two opposing systems."

#### UZBEK REPATRIATE'S LIFE ABROAD PROFILED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 5 February 1987 carries on page 4 a 1,500-word article by UzTAG correspondent R. Shagayev entitled "The Forty-First Parallel" in which he profiles the life of Ahror Azamov of Kokand, whom the war separated from his family for over 30 years. In February 1940 Ahror said goodbye to his wife and daughter and went to serve in the Red Army. When the war began his division fought in Kiev and he was wounded. The Germans captured the hospital where he was being treated, shot those who could not walk, and herded the rest toward Zhitomir to a place called Baguniay where the Germans had built a concentration camp. Thousands of inmates had perished from cold and hunger, and the prisoners were forced to dig their graves deep in the woods. Then, Ahror and others were shipped to Germany to work in the Krupp Coal Mines where many more died. In 1945 Ahror was liberated in the English zone of occupation. He believed English lies that Soviet repatriates were being imprisoned and decided not to return. In 1947 he met Vali Qayumkhan, leader of the reactionary Turkestan National Committee in Munich. Qayumkhan had gone to study in Berlin in the 1930s and then betrayed his homeland by heading the Turkestan Legion formed from deserters during the war. Qayumkhan was

brought to trial at the Nuremberg Tribunal, but escaped punishment with English and American aid. He organized an anti-Soviet journal called "National Turkestan" in Munich and proclaimed himself the savior of Central Asian Muslims. For four years Ahror lived among these traitors (including Baymirza Hayit and Rozi Nazar) who served the Gestapo and then English intelligence, and now the CIA.

Shagayev states that Ahror did not take part in Qayumkhan's anti-Soviet activities, but cut ties with the group and went to America. There, he was still not free of nationalists who asked him to be an announcer in the Uzbek department of Voice of America. However, after one and a half years he got fed up and quit. He enrolled in a mechanics school, got a job with the Victor Steel Company, and rented an apartment on Colonial Avenue in New York City. He became preoccupied with thoughts of his homeland and wife and daughter. One day he discovered in an atlas that New York and Kokand both were situated on the 41st parallel, and this made him all the more homesick. Then he obtained a copy of a book entitled "The True Face of the 'Saviors' of Turkestan" whose authors were people who had returned to their homeland. Ahror knew them well and was astonished at what they to say. He decided to write a letter home and soon received a reply from his wife Saodatkhon who wrote that she still awaited him. Ahror was able to arrange for his daughter Maqsuda and grandson to visit him in New York in 1973. After a month they returned to Uzbekistan. On 4 May 1974 Ahror flew to Moscow and the next day to Kokand where, after 34 years and nearly three months, he was reunited with his family. All their relatives and friends came to visit, and even old women dropped by perhaps in the hope that someday their sons too would return. Ahror decided not to return to America and obtained a USSR citizens passport. In May 1975 he was asked to work as a scientific associate at the Kokand Regional Studies Museum where he works today. Ahror has written an "Open Letter to Compatriots Abroad" exposing the traitors in Munich, and writes letters to many other compatriots living in the United States, West Germany, and Turkey.

9439

CSO: 1836/407



## TOUR GUIDE TO UZBEK HOLY SITES EXPOSED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 1 February 1987 carries on page 4 an 800-word article by F. Zohidov entitled "Fraud" in which he discusses the case of Sadulla Khudoyberganov, an old man who acts as a guide for tours of Uzbek holy sites. Zohidov recounts that in his youth Khudoyberganov was a thief who spent two years in prison in 1942, after which he left Kushkapir Rayon of Khorezm Oblast and went to Takhta Rayon in Turkmenistan. There he stole again, and also stabbed a woman. In October 1943 he was arrested and sentenced to 10 years in prison. After completing his term he seemed to be reformed. He worked for a construction organization until 1978 and when he reached 60 the state paid him a pension of 63 rubles a month. Evidently, this sum was too small a payment for 16 years of work in his eyes. Khudoyberganov conspired with S. Qalandarov, chief of the workers' benefits department of the Urgench office of the Central Asian Steamship Line, who issued him a document certifying that he had worked for this organization from 1940 to 1950 (in fact, he was in prison during these years). Qalandarov signed and got his driver to witness this document. Khudoyberganov used the document to apply for additional benefits of 36 rubles a month. In all, he bilked the state out of 3,656 rubles.

Zohidov states that Khudoyberganov, a man who dresses in religious garb and assumes an unpretentious manner, is obviously a fraud. Presently, he resides on a kolkhoz in Urgench Rayon and is part of a group that gives tours of local holy sites. The expedition agency of the Urgench city motor transport enterprise releases a bus to the group which includes fake mullahs, old women who recite prayers, and various religious people. Khudoyberganov is in charge of organizing the tour, for which he receives a share of the proceeds, as do the mullah Sultonnazar and the prayer reciters Gulsara and Oghiloy. The group pays 624 rubles for the bus, but each of the 30 pilgrims pays 70 rubles, or 2,100 rubles in all. And this figure does not include the money paid by the pilgrims for sacrificial and other offerings at the holy sites.

## ATHEISTIC WORKS PUBLISHED IN UZBEK

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 20 February 1987 carries on page 4 a 400-word item under the "Books For Your World" heading that lists new Uzbek language pamphlets published in the

Atheistic Library series of "Uzbekistan" Publishing House. O.A. Rustamov's "Soviet Laws on Religion" covers problems concerning the party and government's attitude toward religion and churches, and the laws regarding religious ceremonies. A. Qayumov's "Today and Ceremonies" deals with the origin and nature of modern socialist traditions and criticizes the survival of religious vestiges. A.O. Ortiqov's "The Constitutional Guarantee of Freedom of Conscience" discusses the Uzbek SSR Constitution's guarantee of this freedom and the abuses committed against it. T. Abdurasuleva's "Islam and Uzbek Women" treats the struggle of modern working women against Islamic vestiges. T. Toshlonov's "National and Religious Customs" distinguishes between the concepts of "national" and "religious," and focuses on efforts to intensify the fight against religious customs in the republic. J. Yunusova's "In the Front Ranks of Atheistic Education" stresses the vanguard role of communists in atheistic work. G. Polyanovskiy's "Working with Religious Believers" shares his experiences in working with the religious and young atheistic propagandists.

9439

CSO: 1836/408

## WRITER GRANIN RESPONDS TO READERS ON 'LYSENKO EFFECT'

PM041041 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 May 87 p 4

[Irina Rishina interview with writer Daniil Granin in Leningrad: "Mailbag on D. Granin's Book 'The Bull' ('Zubr'): Distant and Nearby Echo"--no date of interview given; first four paragraphs are an introduction by Rishina; passages within slantlines are readers' letters]

[Text] There was something painfully piercing, bright, and sublime in the fact that on the Bull's memorial day his colleagues, pupils, friends, and relatives gathered on the Lenin Hills "in full view of all Moscow." And the tiny ancient chapel near which this meeting was scheduled at midday, and the hills themselves--witnesses to many oaths of lasting love and friendship--seemed to accept their assurances that the memory of the man they loved would remain alive. Afterward they all sat until late in the night around the table at the house of M. Reformatskaya, driving spirit and organizer of these annual celebrations, in whose home the Timofeyev-resovskiy family, friends of her father and mother, always felt at home and at ease. They gather here at the end of March each year. D. Granin wrote in his book: "The process of seeking out the material is another story. There was help from the Bull's friends and pupils, an entire 'operations group' was at work. This proved to me yet again how devoted they are to his memory--Masha Reformatskaya, Kolya Vorontsov, Valeriy Ivanov, Anna Benediktovna Getseva, Volodya Ivanov...." They were all there, together with M. Volkenshteyn, A. Tyuryukanov, L. Blyumenfeld, A. Yarinin, the sisters N. and Ye. Lyapunova, the brothers A. and Ye. Malenkov, A. Panshina, one of those whom the Bull saved in fascist Germany--they are all mentioned in the novella. The Bull's son, Andrey Nikolayevich, flew in from Sverdlovsk--and all in all, there was not a single person around that table who did not figure in the book which, as I saw for myself, very accurately notes: "The Bull's most devoted disciples, when speaking about their teacher, retain a certain irony. This is a tradition--no blind worship." They recalled episodes from the Bull's work in Miass, Obninsk, the Urals, and Berlin, looked at the exhibition of his photographs organized by the hosts and at snapshots brought along by S. Shmol, listened to his tape recordings of N.V.'s [Timofeyev-resovskiy's initials] lectures, speeches, and "anecdotes," and commented when recalling his sharp and apt turns of phrase. There was no trace of servility or false piety. Quite understandably, however, they were primarily discussing the novella published by NOVYY MIR. The result was an impromptu readers' conference, whose participants were in fact extremely competent and interested.

"Each one of us has his own image of 'Kolyusha,' but we all recognized him," Vladimir Ilich Ivanov said, addressing Granin. "You made him neither round nor oval, but as if constructed from cut glass, and all the facets are successfully cut. The novella shows him the way he was--a seasoned oak, a bull. As time goes by, our memories will fade but this testimony will remain, very truthful and objective."

"I suddenly started receiving many letters about my hero's life," D. Granin said, "like the effect of a distant echo."

A few days later I traveled to Leningrad to review this mail together with Daniil Aleksandrovich.

[Granin] Many readers ask why, time and again, I turn back to scientists in my creative work. Primarily because I am interested in the world of the intellectual hero. A hero who does not simply work but is engulfed in a tense and dramatic spiritual life, who tries to understand the time, to understand and fulfill himself. Someone noble and multifaceted, who rises above vanity, glory, and career, who loves his work and whose work is worthy of his love.

Breadth of soul--that is the attraction. When I thought of the Bull as my hero, the decisive factors were the scope of his character and my love for the man. I fell in love with him long before I decided to write about him, and maybe this was what prevented me from gathering material, examining, and studying it: I simply followed openmouthed in his footsteps, looked at him through the eyes of love, and that was all. Of course, what made me pick up my pen was primarily a desire to repair fate's unfairness to him, to rehabilitate him.

Our attitude to our science is as slipshod as to our literature. For example, interesting works written in the twenties and thirties are shoved somewhere inside a trunk and forgotten. Now we have no idea what is there to be found in that trunk, what has decayed and what has survived. I recently picked up a book by Vasiliy Andreyev--quite a talented writer, but his name means nothing to today's reader, his prose has not been republished.... Exactly the same is happening to names in science. In other words, today's scientists do, of course, make use of works by their remarkable predecessors, but the story of the life, quest, and discoveries, the creator's actual personality are unknown to people. We know insultingly little about the great V. Vernadskiy, we have not studied his heritage, we have not published his most interesting philosophical works and correspondence, there is no set of his complete collected works.

The life of Nikolay Vladimirovich Timofeyev-Resovskiy was complex and highly involved. I wanted to unravel this complexity. The work was exhausting, but I had perhaps never before gained such satisfaction. I came to know and meet some superb people. My hero's life was mysterious enough, and here was another mystery: How was it that for many years on end he was surrounded by exactly this type of people--remarkable, noble, vivid--and they concentrated around him. Contacts with them were a joy in themselves, and the main point

which made me happy was that the facts I managed to uncover convinced me: My hero was a wonderful and worthy person, maintaining his honor to the utmost during the extremely difficult tribulations of life. His colleagues, friends, and admirers felt and believed that he had held himself high in fascist Germany, that he was totally unblemished, and now this has become obvious thanks to documents and testimonies.

[Rishina] I remember you saying, when we were in Reformat'skaya's home, that you were alert to the danger that the book about the Bull could turn into a collection of anecdotes, kind of collage of his stories. But you do have vast experience of work in documentary literature--"Blockade Book" [Blokadnaya Kniga], "The Strange Life" [Eta Strannaya Zhizn], "Choice of Goal" [Vybor Tseli], and the "Stone Garden" [Sad Kamney] collection of novellas and short stories about scientists, whose heroes have also appeared under their real names. In the novella "This Strange Life" about Lyubishchev you said: "Of course, authenticity hindered me and tied my hands. It is far easier to write about an imaginary hero. He is both obliging and frank--the author knows all his thoughts and intentions...." Were you also fettered by reality in your work on "The Bull?"

[Granin] In Timofeyev-Resovskiy I also encountered a good story-teller--his ideas were brilliant and paradoxical, his language was colorful, each story or anecdote better than the previous one. It would have been temptingly easy to write a book by collecting and recording his stories, but I wanted to master this material and present it artistically. That was quite a complex literary task.

/From the letter by Doctor of Arts I.F. Petrovskaya from Leningrad: "The author is the second hero of the novella, his image appears on every page, not just in the passages directly attributed to him."/

[Rishina] In January last year when, as a result of the accident which you recently described for LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in the article "About Mercy," you were unable to work and I arrived with a tape recorder to record you for the rubric "Monologue About the Time and One's Self," you had a telephone call from V. Dudintsev. When you hung up, you hurriedly started telling me about his new novel "The White Coats" [Belyye Odezhdy] which--and I know that this was also thanks to your very active intervention--has now been published by NEVA. You told me what an interesting novel it was, what a fine fellow Dudintsev was (and this verbal review has, incidentally, been preserved--a whole tape). As for me, I was listening and feeling pleased that you were not worried about the "dangers" of simultaneous publication of his and your works, or about possible competition since your novella also takes a very determined stance on the Lysenko years, and that you still retained what is a rare gift today--"to exclaim in admiration of each other," as B. Okudzhava said, confident that "you need not fear bombastic words."

[Granin] Of course, V. Dudintsev accomplished a feat. Just think of the period in which he tackled the Lysenko years, studied, gathered materials, and wrote--almost 2 decades of work, and he has done a great job!

[Rishina] Here is something else that comes to mind now, when almost simultaneously, within a matter of just some 6 months, journals have published works by V. Dudintsev, A. Bek, V. Tendryakov, A. Pristavkin, and A. Rybakov-- it is well known that even A. Tvardovskiy wanted to publish his novel "Children of the Arbat" [Deti Arbata], and he also tried to publish in NOVYY MIR I. Gerasimov's novella "Knock on the Door" [Stuk v Dver], which has now finally been published in OKTYABR. And this applies not only to Russian prose. The novel "Insomnia" [Bessonnitsa] by Latvian prose writer A. Bel, for example, had to travel a tortuous path before it reached the readers. Now, having received all this at once, you draw the conclusion that, in addition to the "war" and "rural" prose whose successes along the path of moral quest have been justly and extensively covered by literary criticism (a book by such a keen research worker like A. Adamovich was very indicatively entitled "War and the Countryside in Contemporary Literature" [Voyna i Derevnya v Sovremennoy Literature]), there also existed an entire stratum of a different kind of prose, also thoroughly mixed with the yeast of social, moral, and ethical problems, but presented in a different form from the frontline or rural material. A stratum which was not known to the world but was nevertheless significant and weighty. This is what emerges in the light of the present. There has been the simultaneous publication of three remarkable works about the scientific world--"The Bull," "The White Coats," and V. Amlinskiy's novella "Every Hour Will Be Vindicated..." [Opravdan Budet Kazhdyy Chas].

[Granin] A correct observation. As you put it, there is much still to be revealed in this concealed stratum about both our urban and our rural life. I do not believe that it is possible to obstruct one another in literature. In my view, it is good that different authors have addressed the topic of the Lysenko years, each in his own way. It is not the main topic in my novella, but it is the basic topic in Dudintsev's novel. We cannot imagine the damage the Lysenko years inflicted on our agriculture, how much genetics suffered as a result, and what moral and physical loss was inflicted on our science as a whole. I know that several studies have been written on this topic, but so far they have been totally unable to make their way into print. They must definitely be published in order to interpret the past and learn lessons. They are not being printed because of stepped-up opposition by those very same supporters of Lysenko's who claim that everything came to an end with the fall of Lysenko and his stooges and today there is no need to rake over the past. In actual fact, many of Lysenko's supporters--incompetent and ignorant people--continue to work in science, occupying positions of responsibility and in charge of laboratories and even institutes. The legacy of those dark years still produces its effect today. What V. Dudintsev described, and which I touched on to a certain extent, is not simply the instructive lesson of a past that has gone forever: No, it is unfortunately still a matter of really burning problems.

I clashed with them face to face when the question of publishing "The Bull" was being decided. A struggle flared up, an open and furious struggle. Moreover, those who launched it used dishonest and aggressive methods. Not only did they come to my apartment in Leningrad to threaten me, but when they found out that NOVYY MIR wanted to publish the novella they also started attacking S. Zalygin by telephone and letter and were actually threatening

the journal. The journal stood firm. Various people tried to oppose publication. Lysenko's supporters, who always saw Timofeyev-resovskiy as one of their most serious adversaries. Those who managed to secure his expulsion from the Obninsk Institute were also unwilling to have anything good said about him for everyone to hear. There was also another category of protesters --people who somehow found out that the novella depicts the characters of Timofeyev-resovskiy's adversaries. And, without having read the book and without the slightest idea how these characters are depicted, they became frightened that they themselves could be identified with the slanderers and informers. So, even before the manuscript had reached the printers, I was already aware that the book had its adversaries.

[Rishina] But it is wonderful that the novella offends, that it has caused such a hasty reaction among a certain group of people. Since you started talking about them, let me ask you: For what purpose, for what reason did you give not the real name but only the initial D. (and this initial is evidently invented) to the character who is very aptly described as "dedicated enemy" and "sworn associate." Several readers' letters took the following line in this context: In this way, the specific person on whom D. is modeled seems to have been led away from the courtroom and protected against public scorn.

[Granin] I was not writing an indictment, I did not need any direct proof of various unseemly acts by D. The opinion of him held by scientists whose reputations had been built over the years was sufficient for me.

[Rishina] In other words, you did not intend to "nail" a real person, and he is unrecognizable?

[Granin] I was shocked when I found out that not just one person had seen himself in D.--several people were worried and concerned... But for me it was not important whether the person I had in mind would recognize himself or whether others would recognize him. Furthermore, I was bound by a promise. I have promised D. not to reveal his name, and I cannot go back on my word. It was much more interesting--and primarily from the literary point of view--to understand the character and investigate his mentality and the motives behind his deeds. Our contacts were, of course, strained. Afterward, thinking back on the conversation with him and reading the letters he sent me, I tried to determine his line of thinking and recreate the situation which turned him into an informer.

[Rishina] In his work you were evidently assisted by your study of "Mozart and Salieri," by Pushkin's viewpoint, by your analysis, and by your hypotheses. When I read the pages about D., I immediately recalled that essay of yours, "Sacred Gift." It probably came to mind because the latest novella contains the admission: "I have long dreamed of writing a book about honor and dishonor...." Without D., the Bull's image would not have been so multifaceted, either.

[Granin] Of course, this type of experience helps, even though I was not thinking about it. I found it very difficult to analyze the material concerning D. The historical psychology of this social evil has not yet been properly studied. After all, we have not had public trials of those guilty of, say, the repressions of 1937 or the Leningrad affair. Those who applied illegal means and put obviously innocent people behind bars have not been tried. There have been no trials to unmask the genuine criminals and the evil in their souls. There are no confessions. No one is likely to come up and say: This is what I am, I am guilty, I have committed grave sins. On the contrary, they are all carefully putting on masks and camouflaging themselves. I could, of course, give his real name, but he does have a family and children....

[Rishina] The movie "Repentance" convincingly depicts such a tragedy--the suicide of the boy, Varlam Aravidze's grandson. But all heroes in the movie are invented, while your strictly documentary work depicts real persons, and this circle is invaded by an invented hero, a very interesting type--yes, type is the right word--because different people have seen themselves in him, as in a mirror. But in the context of D.'s character, or rather his "confidentiality," I would like to turn back to your "monologue" entitled "Genuine and Alleged Responsibility" and published by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA on the eve of the 27th party congress, where you raised the following question bluntly and without beating about the bush: Why is it that those who banned and prevented us from contact with Filonov's paintings, Vysotskiy's poems, German's and Klimov's movies, and so on, still go unpunished and are not answerable to society for their actions. The names of those prohibitors must be published. That was also the opinion of numerous readers who responded to your statement in the newspaper. And now these very same readers pick up the novella and see that, under the conditions of openness, you have concealed the identity of a malicious plotter, the "black shadow" of a major scientist, by calling him D. The type of people that make up the character of D.--by no means fools, simpletons, or feeble "play it safe" operators but efficient, determined, and crafty people--are in the spotlight of especially keen interest today, under the conditions of restructuring. Readers write in their letters that the Lysenko effect flourished and produced fruit not only in genetics, that they had encountered people like D. and still come across them daily in different spheres of life, in science, in art....

[Granin] You are contradicting yourself.

[Rishina] Why?

[Granin] Here is why. If the novella had been specifically about the life of someone who is now an old man, you may not even have perceived any types or phenomena. Any discussion about D.'s character probably ought to focus on the fact that, for many years on end, conditions were being created in science--and not just in science--whereby mediocrity could gain advantage by crude and merciless methods. How often it happened that talent found itself backstage, while people in the foreground were ungifted but militant and loud, masters of demagogical methods who did not hesitate to use any means--either



denunciations or political accusations--to attain their goals. Talent is something inconvenient, because even a faint-hearted and timid talent still seeks the truth, cannot accept lies, and exposes forgeries. The atmosphere of fear and the triumph of untalented persons freed the hands of people like D. and gave them a vast field to operate in. The success or failure of the process of democratization and openness is a matter of life or death for them, because if actual results start being demanded in science instead of promises and plans, the fact that these people are not needed will become obvious. They want to preserve a situation whereby they are shielded from responsibility for what they may have done in the past, and pangs of conscience are nonexistent. They would very much like to see the state somehow shoulder all the responsibility, making them feel as if they were serving society, as if they were needed by it and useful to it, as if they were performing some protective duty.

[Rishina] Following LITERATURNAYA GAZETA's publication of an interview given to me by A. Vosnesenskiy and V. Kaverin about the first session of the commission on B. Pasternak's literary legacy, the editorial office started receiving letters demanding publication of the names of those who voted for the poet's expulsion from the Writers' Union in 1958. But LITERATURNAYA GAZETA carried a report on the session which expelled B. Pasternak at the time, listing all the names. The names can and must be published, but are they the only guilty ones? After all, many people are guilty in different ways. Many closed their eyes, kept silent, and did not vote according to their conscience. What is to be done today? Expose those who are criminally guilty, nail them to a cross or an executioner's block? Forgive without forgetting? Frankly, I don't know. Could it be that good alone is capable of curing now? I don't know that society could be made any healthier by passing sentences or imposing civil punishments. Some people cannot be forgiven, impunity cannot be allowed, each and every one must learn that he will have to answer for his actions sooner or later. On the other hand, the number of guilty persons is already painfully large. This is what must be pondered.

[Granin] Let me repeat: We need a history of the Lysenko years, because it is the history of our science and our life. Due credit must be given not only to Nikolay Vavilov, but to all scientists who perished in those years, who did not abandon their moral principles, who did not enter the service of obscurantism, who refused to deceive and harm the soil and for this reason were most treacherously and dishonorably removed from science, and even removed altogether. The responses to the novella "The Bull" contain numerous identical requests: "Write about the life of G. Meyster, seed breeder and vice president of the V.I. Lenin All-union Academy of Agricultural Sciences, who was shot in 1943; write about the life of G. Karpechenko, G. Levitskiy, and Govorov who perished in 1942 in the wake of the N. Vavilov case; write about agrochemical engineer academician N. Tulaykov who died in 1938; write about the remarkable plant physiologist D. Sabinin who could endure no more and took his life in 1951; write about...." These people set the criteria for service to truth and conviction, they are the knights of truth. It is a great pity that we don't know about them: That is a great loss, and especially for the moral education of young people.

/"Thank you very much for the book. Real people did exist! And yet, we were not told about them. Why? So that we could believe that everyone was the same? The geneticists accomplished not so much a scientific as a moral feat. Indeed, why do we smooth and level out our history? Who benefits from this? Incidentally, do you know why I think that the Bull kept D. around him? First, he guessed that if he were to get rid of D., someone else would be sent along as replacement but he would not know who it was. Second, and this was the greatest insult for D., the Bull was probably not afraid of him. Once again, many thanks to you and also to Zalygin. A few words about myself. I was born in 1940, and now work as quality control foreman at a plant. V. Stepanov."/

[Rishina] You wrote in the forward to the book "The Stone Garden": "I was interested not in the magnitude or level of talent, but rather in the spiritual experiences and the moral problems that have to be solved by almost everyone who dedicates his life to scientific creativity.... A scientist's human qualities are perhaps equally as important as his achievements; the moral character of great scientists is of great importance for the generations...." In their letters, readers reflect on the main lesson taught to them by the Bull--to live, remaining true to oneself always and in everything: "His entire life consisted of actions, one action followed by another, but as far as he was concerned these were not so much actions as a way of life.... He did not fight for his beliefs, he simply adhered to them under any circumstances. He proved that it is possible to remain true to oneself. No external factors can prevent this. It all boils down to the obstacles inside man himself, which are more numerous than the obstacles on the outside." While we were at Reformatskaya's home, A.N. Tyuryukanov--Tyuryukanich, as the Bull dubbed him--called you the balladeer of the intelligentsia. There is one reader's letter in which the firmness of the Bull's stance in life, what people would call his "independence," and the immutability of his nature are directly related to the idea of being a member of the intelligentsia, an awareness of one's roots, and of one's genealogy.

[Granin] I can say that intelligentsia is a purely Russian, and now a purely Soviet term. The word "intelligentsia" in foreign dictionaries is followed by "Russ" in parentheses. For them it is as Russian as the word "glasnost" is today. In my view, no one has yet succeeded in defining intelligentsia, in formulating the meaning of the term. There is a sense of decency. I believe that the intelligentsia is the flower of the nation, the flower of the people. I have met scientists, even major ones, who cannot be classed as members of the intelligentsia. For me, this is not a term related to class, official position, or educational standards: It goes beyond these formal categories, it is something different--some kind of spiritual term which somehow merges with the idea of decency and independence, even though these are different things.

While working on the "blockade Book," A. Adamovich and I thought it very important to depict the importance of the attributes of the intelligentsia and the loftiness of the soul. In inhuman conditions, the attributes of the intelligentsia and spirituality helped people to avoid falling into a moral vacuum, to survive not at other people's expense, not to lose their humanity.

We all know what is untypical of a member of the intelligentsia. He cannot be someone acting against his conscience, someone dishonorable, a chauvinist, a boor, or a money-grubber. There are certain boundaries. But this is, of course, not a definition.

What was striking in Timofeyev-resovskiy, apart from everything else, was his keen sense of being tied to his origins and his forebears and that, bearing them and their history in mind, he could not perform an act that would bring shame to the family, the awareness that he was responsible for the honor of that past of his, stretching back over the centuries. Most of us are ignorant of the history of our origins, our family traditions and legends. The sense of genealogy is almost completely absent in us. It is necessary to try to restore the historical awareness. The historical awareness which was widespread in, for example, the 19th century, when people understood that they were in the mainstream of history and that everything they did would leave its trace in history, would be imprinted on it and would be appropriately assessed by future generations. A direct sense of history is very important because it generates a feeling of responsibility to one's children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren--not to disgrace oneself before them and not to disgrace them. Simple things: "Our family has always had a reputation for decency, it never tolerated any base or ignoble acts, cherished its family honor, and suddenly to somehow blemish this--never: After all, people spoke well of us, they honored and respected us...."

[Rishina] That was typical of the nobility, the educated stratum of society.

[Granin] It was prevalent among the people, in any peasant family: "Whatever has happened to us, whether we are the Ivanovs, the Petrovs, or the Nikolayevs, we have always cherished our good name--every man jack of us.... There never have been any thieves among us, no one has been taken to court, we've always paid our debts, and suddenly... what a disgrace, what a shame...." In my view, this primary cell of historical awareness--the clan, the family, that which I attempted to show through my hero's example--is a very serious problem of spiritual life. Only someone who has been brought up without any feeling for the past would raise his hands to defile graves and ravage cemeteries. It is sad to read newspaper reports about such acts of vandalism at the "Kensay" Muslim Cemetery in Alma-ata or the Jewish Cemetery in Leningrad.

One of the specific features of documentary literature is the fact that it produces interesting aftereffects. New information, data, and details come to light thanks to letters, telephone calls, and unexpected encounters. I have here before me several letters augmenting and enriching the history of the Bull's forebears and his own biography. One of them is from T. Egert, who was born and has lived for over 50 years in the apartment of Nikolay Vladimirovich's mother in what was Nikolskiy and is now Plotnikov Lane, and remembers well the whole Timofeyev family. "Knowing how keen you are on total accuracy," she writes, "let me tell you that there were four other brothers and only one sister in the Timofeyev family. All the brothers were people of exceptional abilities. Two of them, Vladimir and Dmitriy, perished during the period of the personality cult, the other two worked successfully: Viktor as a 'sable hunter,' and Boris making movie documentaries; they were

energetic, charming, sharp-witted, and very original." G. Aksenov writes from Moscow: "The point is that my father, when I started telling him about your novella, recalled that he had driven Timofeyev to the station, or rather to the transit camp. Father was also serving time, but he had gotten lucky: He had been made a stable-hand and was driving between installations. He drove Timofeyev for a day and a night, and this man is imprinted on his memory, first because he came from the same part of the country, from Kaluga, second because of his tales about life abroad, and third because of his air of consequence, his culture, and his manner of speech. Timofeyev was alone with him on the drive...., thin, dressed in something shabby--a padded jacket that was too tight to button."

I am also being asked why I did not describe my hero's camp life. But I also omitted his life in Sverdlovsk and some other periods in his life, since I was not writing a biography or a narrative of Timofeyev-Resovskiy's life. I was interested in the history of the soul, the history of ideas, his spiritual dramas and tragedies. I received a letter from Ye. Slepko, which is very important for understanding my hero's mentality and what happened to him: "My husband V.N. Slepko worked together with N. Dubinin in Professor Serebrovskiy's genetic laboratory in Moscow. His book 'Genetics' [Genetika] was published in 1926. In 1928 Slepko was posted to Berlin and he worked on the drosophila fly either under or with Timofeyev, while I stayed behind in Moscow because I gave birth to a daughter in 1929. How good it is that you have written about this man! It is necessary to write about such people. And how good it is that we have lived to see the time when you can write and we can read! Did you by any chance come across the name Slepko in the materials or stories? He was shot in 1937, but was posthumously rehabilitated. Maybe this is why Slepko's name is not mentioned when you write about the 1928-1929 period, even though he was there, in Berlin, together with Timofeyev. I spent more than 10 years in prison because I was his wife. Don't be angry with me for taking up your time, but my entire life has been 'topsy-turvy,' even though I grew up in a family where the children were party members from 1917 (posthumously rehabilitated) and even my mother ran an underground apartment. My husband was also a party member from 1920. How he loved biology and genetics, and how quickly all that came to an end...." This letter also adds a little to the decision, made by Timofeyev-Resovskiy, to stay on in Berlin. Of course, he must have known that his brothers had been arrested, that the brother of his wife, Yelena Aleksandrovna, had been arrested....

The authors of some letters still ask in amazement: How was it possible for the Bull to stay on in Germany? They ignore these facts, and also the fact that at the time our official relations with Germany were apparently good. A scientist wrote to me, for example, and this is indeed true: At that time, German pilots were being trained in our flying schools in Voronezh, and even Guderian studied in our country. It has to be understood that what happened then was unrelated to what happened later. And our views of Germany in those years are conditioned by the sinister shadow of the war, and we are no longer capable of getting rid of this idea, of separating the prewar years from the war years.

[Rishina] But you yourself, describing the episode when the famous physicist L. Artsimovich refused to shake hands with Timofeyev-Resvoskiy, remarked: "In that year I also would have refused to shake hands with a Russian who was working with the Germans." And later: "I was strongly influenced by my own past, my own war against the Germans. I certainly could not imagine myself in Germany, in Buch, among Germans, I could not imagine what people there felt. I only saw myself shooting. That was the war complex." In all likelihood, when you traveled to Berlin for the first time after the victory, things were not simple, either?

[Granin] Not at all simple, not at all.... But my condition at that time must not be extended to the Bull's story--that is the point.

[Rishina] Did you receive any news from abroad once the novella was published? Some news from Foma, maybe?

[Granin] No, not of Foma. But I did receive a letter from the German biochemist Eichler, who knew the Bull. Other German scientists responded from Buch and West Germany. Zimmer--K.G., as they called him in Buch--also turned up. Oleg Tsinger wrote from Paris to express his joy.

[Rishina] Did you send a copy of NOVYY MIR to him in France?

[Granin] I did. But it appeared that he had already read "The Bull." The journal is probably read abroad, and the scientific world enjoys good communications, so news travels fast.

But I was most impressed by an article, only just published by the British journal NATURE, to the effect that Schroedinger's famous book "What Is Life? A Physicist's Viewpoint" is essentially a popular exposition of Timofeyev-Resvoskiy's early works done by him and his collaborators. And this is written by the famous Nobel Prize winner Perutz.

While working on the novella, I could have made use of a much greater quantity of diverse information. Unfortunately, memoirs in which I was interested like, for example, the memoirs by Bourne, Zimmer, and N. Riehl which were published abroad are kept in special storage. Bibliographies do not exist, and even when they do exist one is not allowed to use them. Generally speaking, I was unable to find these materials. It is hard to work out why they should be kept secret from us. This does nothing but harm to our history and art. It is all for the better that work is apparently now under way to make the literature kept in special storage available for general use.

This is not the first time I have come across work on documentary prose in our country being hindered by the absence of biographical reference material. You must refer to sources all the time while working on all sorts of people--military, emigres.

The topic of Russian emigres, especially the initial postrevolutionary ones, brought numerous responses. People write how ambiguous this phenomenon is, that they should not be all treated alike, and how much our science and our culture suffered as a result of that exodus. People ask about my attitude to the fact that emigre writers are now being published by journals. My attitude? I. Odoyevtseva has now returned to Leningrad from Paris. LITERATURNAYA GAZETA wrote about it. I think that a process of enrichment is under way in our culture, history, and science. If they had had an opportunity to return in the past, Russia would have gained quite a few outstanding scientists and engineers, let alone experts in the humanities. True enough, the attitude to technologists was somewhat more lenient than to writers. For example, while I was at the institute, I was studying the textbook "Resistance of Materials" [Soprotivleniye Materialov] by Timoshenko, who was an emigre, and we also made use of a book by the famous Bakhmetyev, another emigre. And there is no doubt that Russian postrevolutionary emigres made a great contribution to world science and technology, and even culture. We cannot even evaluate this contribution. In our attitude to emigres we must also take into account the mentality of the scientist: The main point for him, a scientist possessed by quest and obsessed by some idea, is to have good conditions for work, to have the laboratory he needs, and to achieve something. I understood this when pondering the fate of people like Timoshenko, Bakhmetyev, and others. I thought that my hero also fell within this precise definition, but it proved otherwise. When the war was over and he could have obtained a wonderful laboratory in the United States, carried on with his experiments, and developed all the way, he refused to go.

In conclusion, I would like to confess something. The factual material used for the novella was so voluminous that I did not succeed in avoiding certain inaccuracies. For example, "The Bull" contains a rather unseemly story involving M. Zavadovskiy's name. I received letters from his relatives and pupils on this account, and studied his life in greater detail. It came to light that M. Zavadovskiy was a man of great staunchness and fortitude, who had behaved with exceptional dignity and courage during the darkest periods when the Lysenko years were at their height. This aspect of his activity, very serious and important, was somehow overlooked by me. I will correct this misunderstanding when the novella is published in book form. There were faults involving names and dates. I am grateful to readers who noticed them and sent me letters. Most of them were benevolent, and as a rule their authors tactfully pointed out my various mistakes. But there is another sort of reader--they write maliciously, rubbing their hands with glee: Aha, got you: What sort of a writer are you, confusing names and dates?! I am also grateful to them, of course--they all read the book carefully, pointed out the mistakes, but I would like to note that the standards of mutual contacts demand a different tone of letter. It is, after all, clear that if some inaccuracy has occurred it is not deliberate. Certain allowances should be made when dealing with 200-300 names. I do not accept full personal blame in respect of all these reproaches--unfortunately, the prevailing opinion in our country

holds that a writer's labor is a very easy job. In actual fact, a literary worker's labor is most difficult and, just like any other labor, it deserves respect.

[Rishina] ...People say that ours is the age of the telephone rather than of the epistle. The readers' mail refutes this claim. It is not true: Whenever words sting to the quick, people reach for their pens. Responses to "The Bull" are still coming in....

/9738

CSO: 1800/655

## FAILURE TO PUBLISH VYSOTSKIY'S POETRY DEPLORED

PM270857 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 May 87 p 2

[V. Badov and B. Zemtsov "Rejoinder" carried as part of full-page "Dialogue" feature: "A Volume Pursuing a Double Goal"]

[Text] A volume in high quality binding. The print on the spine reads: "V. Vysotskiy." The title page names the publisher: "Literaturnoye Zarubezhye" [Literature Abroad]. Could this be a new form of propaganda of Soviet books abroad? If only it were...

The publishers of the anthology of Vladimir Vysotskiy's works over there are, alas, pursuing completely different goals. Let us look at the forword penned by someone by the name of A. Lvov, a former citizen of the USSR Now living in the West. The author's intentions are transparent: to use his reflections about Vysotskiy in order to air, after his own fashion, the same old cliches of anti-Sovietism. We find here the same old stories about alleged persecution of Jews in the USSR, as well as absurd claims like the one about sports in the USSR being "the only recreation available to ordinary citizens."

The familiar usages of "intellectuals" from Radio Liberty can be traced in every line of Lvov's commentary on Vysotskiy's poems and song lyrics. The talented patriotic songs about the Great Patriotic War and the poems lauding the Soviet character appear to be altogether nonexistent so far as the liar from the Radio Liberty staff is concerned. He has also "forgotten" the lampoon songs written by Vysotskiy abroad, which sarcastically expose the morals of bourgeois society.

A Lvov drops an obvious hint that Vysotskiy, during his travels abroad in the last years of his life, allegedly started toying with the idea of staying in the West. Never mind, everyone uses his own yardstick. How can we fail to recall the ironical lines written by the poet himself and aptly addressed to those who would like to equate the cuckoo with the hawk and were terribly eager to see Vysotskiy "on the other side":

"I'm laughing and killing myself with laughter.

"How could they believe that fool?



"Don't worry, I haven't left yet.

"But don't hope, either--I'm not going to leave."

Vladimir Vysotskiy's work, with all his contradictions, is an inseparable part of our culture. But how do we become familiar with it? After all, "Nerve" [Nerv]--the first, and so far the only, anthology of Vladimir Vysotskiy's poems and song lyrics--was published already after his death in 1981. Its print run was only 25,000 instead of the planned 55,000 copies. A year later, "Nerve" was reissued in a print run of 50,000 copies. A total of 75,000 copies. For a country with the world's largest reading public, this print run is, to put it mildly, just a trifle. Let us be blunt: Here our publishing departments displayed a more than annoying inconsistency, simply washing their hands despite the certain knowledge that a print run like this would not satisfy even one-tenth of the readers hungry for Vysotskiy's works. Let alone the fact that, in terms of richness of content, Vysotskiy's book is absolutely miles ahead of "La Reine Margot," which has been published in fantastically large print runs. It is this "gap" in our book publishing that has been filled by the "well-wisher" from "Literaturnoye Zarubezhye."

This example of the publication of V. Vysotskiy's works abroad is a disappointing lesson. If we today are finally coming to accept the fact that, in terms of the innermost essence of his work, Vladimir Semenovich Vysotskiy is our own, Soviet, Russian poet expressing the aspirations, hopes, and torments of his contemporaries, how are we to explain that our love for Vysotskiy was, so to speak, "private" and that we, following some inexplicable official logic, failed to reproduce in print the text of his works, which people in their millions memorized word for word? Vysotskiy has reached us, as poets did in the olden days, by word of mouth. He is perhaps the only important contemporary poet whose talent, alas, we recognized only by ear--from tape recordings copied hundreds of times over. Be that as it may, we have allowed the ideological adversary to take advantage of this opportunity to overtake us, to publish and slanderously interpret Vysotskiy's work.

Today we are getting closer to grasping the core of Vysotskiy's heritage. We will understand the contradictions in his creative work without "prompting" from people like Lvov. Albeit with some delay--a totally unjustified delay, by the way--we have come to realize that, in our present-day "energetic and bubbling life," Vysotskiy's words, his simultaneously sarcastic and pathetic passion, keep up our spirit and our faith that we will overcome and succeed along the paths of restructuring. The best of what he has left us must be available to young readers, just as recordings of his songs are available on releases by "Melodiya." At long last, new Soviet editions of Vysotskiy's works are being prepared, and he will remain part of our heritage regardless of the stuff and nonsense written about him by Mr Lvov.

/9738

CSO: 1800/658

# PROJECT UPHELD FOR COOPERATIVE PUBLISHING HOUSE

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Mar 87 p 7

[Article by Nikolay Voronov under the rubric "We Discuss a New Issue: Cooperative Publishing -- How Do You Envision It?": "Still In the Planning Stage"; first two paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] One year ago LITERATURNAYA GAZETA began a discussion under the heading "For whom are books published?" This question -- "for whom?" -- is inseparable from another question: "How are the published?" In raising that question in their paper, authors took a look at current publishing practices, including cooperative publishing houses. An article by S. Golovanivskiy entitled "So That Manuscripts Do Not Grow Old..." started discussion on this topic by describing the cooperative publishing houses set up in our country during the 1930's and 1940's. Subsequently the issue was dealt with in other articles as well, and we have received letters to the editor from our readers on this subject. At a recent meeting attended by the heads of the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade [Goskomizdat] and the USSR Union of Writers, support was expressed for a plan to establish a cooperative publishing house in Moscow.

Today we are publishing an article by Moscow writer N. Voronov, and we invite everyone who is interested in the issue of cooperative publishing houses to participate in this discussion.

Last summer a document outlining a complete program for the improvement of the living and creative conditions under which writers in the capital labor was submitted for discussion to the Secretariat of the Board of the Moscow Writers Organization by its full-time administrative staff. This document was prepared at the request of high-level party officials, therefore all the most important issues and concerns were to be included in it. Speaking before the Secretariat, I proposed that there be included in our document a section concerning a cooperative publishing house and at that time I assigned the task of writing a plan for such an undertaking.

What was my basis for making that suggestion and working on the plan? The Moscow Writers Organization (incredibly!) does not have its own publishing house nor, incidentally, even a single journal (again, incredible but true).

I also was acting on a dream which has surfaced in our milieu twice within my memory, and which did not become a reality on either occasion. This dream was raved about -- that is no exaggeration -- above all by the major prose writers and poets Valentin Katayev, Emmanuil Kazakevich, Vladimir Lugovskoy, Pavel Nilin, Aleksandr Yashchik... According to one of the schemes it was to be given a sacred, alluring name: "Yasnaya Polyana." Valentin Katayev was prepared to serve as its director. I can still see him patting his hands delicately in his delight at the probability of being able to publish only bold books, only brilliant books (a fireworks display of metaphors and epithets!), only the kind of books which would sell out instantly and would be reprinted for all eternity.

"Stolitsa" was the name I which gave this cooperative publishing house in my draft plan, and included in parentheses an almost illusory quality: "experimental." Because, since my works have been being published -- quite a long time, roughly four decades -- all I have seen is dallying by publishing houses, which have gotten slower and slower, as if the prevailing slogan in their operations were "Time, go backwards!"

Of course, a cooperative entity cannot come into existence without members and the payment of cooperative shares. At the organizational stage of "Stolitsa" these members should obviously be only the members of the Moscow Writers Organization, then later those Soviet authors whose books are to be published by the cooperative.

I proposed that cooperative shares be set at between 500 and 5,000 rubles; the amount of money distributed from profit-sharing, if there were any profits, would correspond to the amount of cooperative dues paid. Incidentally, I now feel differently on this point: some major shareholder would naturally, on account of his or her large contribution to the cooperative, want to claim the right of being before others, and in that situation it would be hard to prevent less-talented works from pushing their way to the fore. Now I am inclined to support equal shares for all cooperative members: 1,000 rubles, or 1,500 rubles at the most -- there is hardly a poet, probably not a single one, who is wealthy enough to scrape together such an astronomical sum. For that reason loans would be essential. And there is a chance of getting interest-free five-year loans from the profit fund of Sovetskiy Pisatel Publishers for the purpose of getting started. A bank loan could also be acquired. The USSR Council of Ministers would not turn us down.

Self-government: how would it be organized? In a democratic manner. At the recommendation of the Secretariat of the Board of the Moscow Writers Organization and with agreement by the leadership of the USSR Union of Writers and USSR Goskomizdat a general assembly of cooperative members would elect a publishing house board consisting of 30 people and a president or chairman.

The term in office of the board and the president would be three years. They would have the task of drawing up annual publication plans consisting of classic works, world classics included, and new works by Soviet writers with, of course, preference given to writers from Moscow, as well as works by foreign authors.

"Stolitsa" would have no editorial board in today's sense of the word. Editorial functions would be performed by the board members. They and the president would receive monthly salaries, to be established by a general assembly of cooperative members. They would also receive additional personal bonuses taken from the income produced by those books of which all copies were sold.

The permanent staff of the publishing house, in addition to the board and the president, would include: an organizational director, whose functions would be to manage the entire production process and conduct dealings with the various state publishing committees, with USSR Gosplan (concerning the provision of paper and printing equipment) and with the bookselling network in cities and in the country (Tsentsosoyuz); under the organizational director there would be divisions for evaluation, formatting, advertising, annotation of books, finances and proofreading, as well as a lawyer and a business secretary.

"Stolitsa" would function as an express publisher, i.e. so swiftly that the production time for a manuscript or reprinting from beginning to end would be no more than four months.

If this time limit were exceeded, the publishing house would pay the author compensation equal to 10 percent of his or her total honorarium for the first edition; if the bottleneck in the publication of a book were caused by the printing division, or in its distribution by book merchants, then they would be fined a sum equal to between one and three percent of the total cost of the edition; if these organizations carry out their obligations in full, then they would receive bonuses as agreed upon in their contracts; if it delivered manuscripts to the printers late or with typographical errors, the publishing house would pay a fine equal to the financial damage incurred as a result.

This express publisher would be designed to publish works which are notable for their high level of artistic, aesthetic and ideological qualities. Hence the fact that we conceive of it as a mass publishing house which would consequently be able to produce books more cheaply. But the publishing house would also publish books with authors' private funds and help disseminate those works; if such a work were to gain the support of readers, the literary public and the press, it would subsequently be reprinted at public expense in a large edition, with remuneration to the author.

Here it is essential that I underscore the fact that the present stage of cooperativization and democratization of the labor-related, economic and sociocultural affairs of our society inevitably also presuppose legal independence for enterprises and organizations of an experimental nature which are of great importance to the people, the party, the state and their future.

"Stolitsa" is counting on having legal authority to set the amount of authors' financial compensation; for example, for prose it would pay between 200 and 600 rubles per page, and between two and six rubles per line of poetry. The first printing of a prose work would be 100,000 copies and that of a poetry work 25,000 copies, and the author would receive 100 percent payment for that edition. The second printing would be paid at a rate of 80 percent of the

first printing; the third printing at 60 percent, the fourth and fifth at 50 percent. Beginning at the sixth and eleventh printings the rate of payment would be renegotiated. For translated prose works the payment would be 100 to 300 rubles per page, for translated poetry one to three rubles per line.

The problem of salary is a very difficult one for professional writers. Many of us are familiar with financial need. The divergence between the profits from writers' books, substantial profits, and the compensation received by the authors of those books was spoken of convincingly and with alarm at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet by V. Karpov, first secretary of the Board of the USSR Union of Writers. Proposed improvements in the system of honorariums will eliminate averaging of rates per page of prose or line of poetry and will thereby hasten elimination of the tendency toward equal payment for creative labor. Justice also demands that additional compensation be given writers for making profits and exceptional profits, in the amount of between one and three percent of those profits.

The publishing house plans to print as many as 150 titles in various quantities. One-half of these would be firmly planned in advance, and one-half would be selected from new manuscripts received. Final selections would be made by the board members; they would guide a work as far as the "signal" copy, that stage which immediately precedes publication.

There is no doubt that "Stolitsa" will not be able to meet the level of spiritual, political and ethical demands required by the strategic objectives of the party and the tasks for literature which flow from those objectives, unless the board and the president, who should be experienced, demanding and independent-minded writers, are not shown genuine trust. Trust, like democracy, like openness, requires the support and protection of the authorities and the reading public. Otherwise the forces of stagnation, bureaucracy, suspicion and malicious lack of talent will constantly plague the work of a publishing house which should be filled with faith in truth, conscience and courageous thought.

Our hopes found support in an evaluation given to the effort of our country's writers by M. S. Gorbachev at a meeting between the CPSU Central Committee and the heads of the mass information and propaganda media: "Literature prepared society for change and awakened the public's conscience. Some publicists boldly promoted those ideas which today have the force of party and state decisions in the economy, culture and education."

\* \* \*

When this article was already ready to go to press, I was called to a meeting of a group which is supporting the initiative to establish "Stolitsa." There the initial plan for a publishing house for the Moscow Writers Organization began to take on additional traits of a cooperative nature. Three organizations were added to the list of shareholders: the Moscow Division of the USSR Literary Fund, the Soviet Cultural Fund and the All-Union Bibliophile Society. This change in the, so to speak, monostructural nature of our publishing house definitely improved its financial base and promised to give it artistic, aesthetic, sociohistorical and contemporary breadth. However, it

is true that the idea of speeded-up publication of works was watered down considerably. The acceleration was slowed down severely due to the fact that people are accustomed to the convenience of unhurried editing and printing; the time limit for the path from manuscript to completed book was set at one year. The three whale-like public organizations came crashing down on the others participants in annual meetings and meetings of the board of writer-shareholders in terms of voting strength: they demanded 51 percent of the votes, and the writers are to receive only 49 percent. In addition, there is a growing threat to complete freedom for any of Moscow's 2,000 writers to become shareholders in "Stolitsa": in order to become a member of the cooperative one must now obtain a recommendation from the creative associations of either poets, prose writers, critics, dramatists or translators.

Not every limitation is undemocratic, yet this one causes alarm on account of its unequal opportunities for writers to participate in a matter which is vital to them, and gives rise to concern for the future of this humanistic undertaking, which is of such importance.

I am confident that discussion of this urgent problem, discussion in which everyone's serious opinion will be welcomed, will help make the "Stolitsa" Cooperative Publishing House a reality.

12825

CSO: 1800/496

YOUTH PAPER VIEWS 'PAMYAT' GROUP'S ACTIVITIES

PMO40731 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 May 87 p 4

[Ye. Losto article: "Oblivion: Where the Leaders of the so-called 'Pamyat' Association Are Heading"--passages between slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] Readers may already be aware that a so-called informal association called "Pamyat" ["Memory"] exists in the country. It calls itself a "patriotic association." At "Pamyat" sessions speakers are introduced as follows:

"Architect and patriot so-and-so has the floor..."

And if not architect, then whatever you like, but always "patriot." "Patriotism" is the moving spirit of such meetings. Let us examine, however, what this word means here.

There are altogether many fine words in the world. Freedom, equality, fraternity, conscience, patriotism, and love... Everything hinges on the meaning you give them. The words themselves, after all, are fine.

Some anarchists, for example, put forward the slogans of freedom and attracted gangsters, parasites, hooligans, and prostitutes. It depends on /what/ you understand by freedom, /who/ wants to be liberated, and /why/.

No one has yet assembled people beneath their banners and slogans with ill-sounding words. They are always assembled beneath something that sounds attractive. You must, however, make a distinction between the content and the packaging.

Take patriotism. Different meanings are also attached to this concept. Lenin defined the new, Soviet patriotism as: socialism as the homeland. Lenin defined with these words the stance of the conscious proletariat, which was, of course, also his own stance. We should bear this in mind as we read on, for what lies in store for us is a repeated taking in vain of the name of a "Leninism" that has nothing to do with true Leninist ideas.

Patriarchal patriotism is trailing in our footsteps from the past--a dusty straggler behind a rapidly advancing country which until quite recently was populated by enormous ignorant masses of virtually illiterate peasants who for centuries put their faith in God and the tsar and blamed all evil on the devil and the adherents of other creeds. The patriotism of the small property-owner (petty bourgeois patriotism) is quite different from the patriotism of the conscious proletarian. Their banner is inscribed with their own country estate and land as the homeland, orthodoxy as the homeland, and national features as the homeland rather than socialism as the homeland. Such patriotism turns instantly into nationalism. Bring to it the lighted match of antisemitism and you will see... "Pamyat."

An anachronism can be blatant and obvious to everyone. Or it can be "cultured."

An interest in history, in the past, is natural. If you are unaware of the past, you will be unable to understand the present or look into the future. Everything is worthy of study! But you should not drag everything along with you, declaring the progressive and the reactionary to be equally necessary to us as the /single Russian culture/. Lenin always distinguished between progressive and reactionary culture (the latter including the culture of the "Black Hundreds," clerical culture, and so forth). We must adopt all that is best and not everything in general.

This should be remembered as we will be encountering unscrupulous (or ignorant) incorporation of "Leninism" in the ideological platform of "Pamyat's" leaders. An unscrupulous mixture of clericalism, mysticism, and "Leninism" is typical of their speeches. And not only theirs! Even "theoretical" works by authors who brazenly adopt Lenin as an ally while expounding ideas completely at odds with the spirit and the letter of Leninism appear in our periodicals. One of the most graphic examples of this is an article by V. Kozhinov that appeared in the journal MOSKVA (not for nothing have some speakers at "Pamyat" sessions sung his praises). Every phenomenon has its organizers, agitators, ideologues, artists... We will now meet the agitators, arrangers, and organizers of popular cultural activities.

...I walked out of Kropotkinskay subway station, not toward the "Moskva" pool, which is abhorred by "Pamyat" and described at sessions as a "round puddle for ablutions," but in the opposite direction, toward Moscow city's Leninskiy CPSU Raykom. For certain reasons the raykom was forced to allow "Pamyat" to use its premises. What follows are the bizarre speeches delivered in the conference hall, short summaries of which are offered here for readers to peruse. There were quite a few young people in the hall, as at other "Pamyat" evenings.

As the "Pamyat" session progresses it will be necessary to digress in order to help the reader separate what is important from the rubbish, and the plain rubbish from the mystical variety. So that the reader can see where the grains of truth lie and where the mountain of speculation based on those grains of truth lie.



K. Andreyev, chairman of the "Pamyat" Council: The permission to use the hall "does the party raykom credit."

"Rumor of this will spread throughout great Russia to the benefit of socialism and communism."

It is the speaker's firm conviction that we must improve people's attitude to labor, and for this it is necessary to return to the people their history; to the people, it is necessary to "rehabilitate" history. What does this mean?

"I will work to rehabilitate our history. The people's history has been cut out from under them. If you look at a calendar, our country prior to 1917 was in the grips of an ice age or virgin territory."

Of course, the people must know their history and their heroes. Representatives of all trends of social thought are in agreement here. That is not in dispute. But knowing is not the same as extolling everything, that is, accepting everything indiscriminately and putting it into circulation as working knowledge, permissible logical ploys, and propagandist and artistic images. A whole variety of things is now being extolled. Every tendency has its own heroes, its own monuments, its own historical events, and its own historical angles.

One tendency has Bolsheviks and democrats.

Another--conversely--extols something that has nothing to do with revolutionary struggle: abstract humanism and pluralism.

A third tendency lives in the thirties.

A fourth excavates and restores the Orthodox past. And not only that which is artistically beautiful (there is no argument about that, it's necessary) but everything Orthodox and "sacred." Hence the starting point of 1918. It really was a turning point, including for the "sacred": It really "cut out" the "sacred." And if Orthodoxy is considered to be our history, then yes, that history was indeed cut out from beneath our feet, and rightly so.

Council Member A. Gladkov, who has done much voluntary work to restore churches and "clean up the desecrated graves on the 'Dinamo' plant's territory," took the floor.

For readers' information: We recently wrote that the plant did not, of course, deliberately "desecrate graves." The heroes of the Battle of Kulikovo are buried in church grounds on the plant's territory. The people who installed compressors on that spot were unaware that the heroes were buried there. This is not a justification but an explanation. The site is now under state protection and the plant has been instructed to remove the compressor station, although it has not yet done so. Yes, the "Dinamo" plant certainly added fuel to the flames.

A. Gladkov said that since Lenin's death the Leninist concept of national culture (which is totally absent from Lenin's works, which contain the concept of two cultures) has been distorted. He read out poetry by members of the Proletarian Culture movement in the late twenties about the need to pull Minin and Pozharskiy [17th century military commanders] down from their pedestal since they were "storekeepers." The Proletarian Culture movement, which vulgarized the party's policy in the cultural sphere and (contrary to the Leninist party stance) rejected our cultural heritage, was here passed off as ... party policy.

The speaker then went on to describe the "Moskva" Pool (where the Cathedral of Christ the Savior once stood), so abhorred by his audience.

"Throughout the year the 'Moskva' Pool creates a pall of steam which has a destructive effect on the masterpieces in the Alexander III Museum (nowadays called the Pushkin Museum)."

For readers' information: The destructive effect of the pool on the museum has not been substantiated. Too much is being attributed to the pool. It's a real pity about the cathedral, especially as its destruction stemmed not from the demands of the revolutionary situation but from thoughtlessness and a failure to appreciate beauty. Or, more precisely, a narrow understanding of beauty as only that which is new. Broad streets and bright windows... It is a pity. But there is no point in kicking up a row after the event. Although it is, of course, a way of raising the temperature of your audience.

The next speaker was council member O. Zhurin. According to him, "certain figures ignored Lenin in saying that culture is class-based." Lenin, he thinks, said this only before October 1917 and began to speak differently after October.

"There are patriotic forces and there are pogrom forces."

The "pogrom forces," according to the speaker, have destroyed monuments.

"All this was carried out with foul doggerel. This was headed by the Proletarian Culture movement and the Union of Militant Atheists. There is not a single building of Pushkins' time left standing on Pushkin Square. Pushkin's back is turned to Russia--symbolically!"

(The speaker was referring to the Pushkin memorial in front of the "Rossiya" movie theater.)

He named two people as the culprits to blame for the drastic decline in the number of churches in Moscow.

"Lazar Moiseyevich Kaganovich was involved in the reconstruction of Moscow. He said: 'All old cities were built haphazardly. When you walk around Moscow, you get the feeling that it was put up by a drunken builder...' And Yaroslavskiy (originally Gubelman), the chairman of the Union of Militant Atheists..."

Council member V. Vinogradov then spoke. Once again he began with Lenin's ideas. He then turned to the subject of Moscow as the "third Rome, the celestial city." As the third Rome, Moscow is the "world's most sacred place."

"Ancient Russian urban development was not understood by those who reshaped Moscow. The architect Ginzburg said in 1930: 'All that is necessary is to invest no money and wait for wear and tear to take its toll...' We must act now to save the homeland. Kaganovich's partners in crime are continuing to destroy our national sacred places..."

D. Vasilyev then took the floor:

"The CPSU Gorkom Agitation and Propaganda Department sticks political labels on us. If this does not stop, we will have recourse to the Criminal Code for slander. A stream of cosmopolitanism has engulfed the mass media. Rock groups are satanism, they swear allegiance to Satan."

For readers' information, here and hereafter the word Satan is being used in the literal sense, as is customary in the "Pamyat" association. Satan is the devil, Lucifer, the antithesis of God.

V. Shumskiy then dashed on to the platform from the body of the hall. He spoke enthusiastically about the article by V. Kozhinov and declared:

"We are in favor of Leninism. The destruction has been wrought by Satan's hands!"

For readers' information: There are no misprints here. I have written down what was proclaimed by sober people in an official setting. Namely that they are in favor of Leninism and against Satan.

"I was struck by the fact that many of the designs for the monument on Poklonnaya Hill..."

(The reference is to the competition entries on view at the Central Exhibition Hall.)

"...contain Maxonic-Zionist and even fascist symbols! That is how the cultural changelings operate. The Order of Lenin has been missing from the cover of OGONEK since the New Year."

For readers' information: That is true about OGONEK.

"Thousands of people come to Moscow from overseas! Away with them! They are not needed here!"

Everyone clapped and shouted:

"Away with them!"

"Long live the Russian people!"

V. Vasilyev concluded by proposing that K. Andreyev be nominated for the rayon soviet. There was clamor once again when the audience recalled the name of a hated senior official who has the patronymic "Moiseyevich." A recording of a conversation with a Doctor Yosifovich was heard. The audience's reaction to such patronymics can be expressed in the simple phrase: "It's all clear now..."

Oddly, the audience was not embarrassed by the playing in public of secretly made tape recordings. In my view, this is indecent. It is usual to record what /all/ participants in the recording intend to record. Otherwise, decent people do not make recordings.

Here's another piece of "factual stuff," as journalists call it. "Paymat" held a session in a Moscow Culture Center. The topic was "Your Civic Stance." D. Vasilyev spoke:

"Good evening, dear compatriots and friends. The people assembled here are far from indifferent to the question of what will happen to our homeland or the question of who will emerge victorious as a result of restructuring..."

As you will have guessed, it is now time again to take the name of "Leninism" in vain, link it to today's realities, and then build a bridge to their favorite topic. And that is what occurred. Here's a sample of the logic:

"Lenin warned that only the truth will help resolve all problems. We have been taught over the decades that the bureaucrat is an official who hoards bits of paper. No, the bureaucrat is an undercover enemy of his homeland and his people. An American told a television correspondent that bureaucracy is a powerful international movement."

I will set out his report as briefly as possible: Imperialism and Zionism plant agents who cultivate bureaucracy. This enemy has entrenched himself everywhere and driven us into a corner. One in three of you sitting in this hall has a brilliant mind, but the enemy has not let you show your abilities. The people who are ruining our economy and science are pensioned off, but they should be up against the wall. They are the enemy.

The names of "enemies holding party cards" were then given and the "experience of Petr Arkadyevich Stolypin," who gave the go-ahead to the kulaks and whose name rightly symbolizes the most reactionary period of the beginning of the 20th Century, was described as an example of genuine patriotism.

Examples of Masonic-Zionist intrigues were then given.

Baby jackets with a moon motif are on sale. "The moon is an emblem of patronage over the Jews." "There you see! We are all swaddled in those clothes!!:

Zionism and Masons have set their snares everywhere with the intention of destroying Orthodoxy. Examples: The article in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA entitled "Flirting With the Divine," an editorial in PRAVDA about working people's

atheist education that repeated Lenin's words about "flirting with the divine" in the spirit of the thirties, and an official address by a major party worker (so-and-so) who voiced "harmful ideas" at a conference devoted to the social sciences.

The speaker cursed those who have the temerity to criticize the mistaken patriarchal views of "our Russian writers."

And in general a "caste of thinkers has grown up who insult us and live off the people's money." They themselves are woefully ignorant, capable only of "defiling our historical past." Now we should be "opening up churches with a peal of bells" rather than defiling the past.

And again it is the non-Orthodox, non-Russians, and the Freemasons who "have destroyed Orthodox monuments."

Hold newspapers up against the light! They write about the purity of the waters of the Dnepr, but hold them up against the light and you can see a skull! "See the tricks that our press gets up to!"

Headlines say "The Lessons of Chernobyl," but up against the light you can read: "It Must Become a Tradition." "This is material for the KGB!"

The hall applauded.

"Coded menorahs" and "six-pointed stars" are all over the press, and this "betokens a presence." Try squares and compasses are Masonic symbols. Likewise rectangles and squares. The number 33 is a token of "special Masonic initiation."

I will now set out his closing appeal. It is necessary to "unite to implement the new political course" and do "final resolute battle against bureaucracy--the hydra of world Freemasonry, Zionism and imperialism." "Brothers and sisters! We must unsheathe our weapons" and do battle, which will cleanse the country "from the evil forces of darkness. We have waited long enough!"

I am deliberately refraining from describing personalities or the careers of the members of the "Pamyat" Council. I have not the slightest wish to allow the ideological struggle to descend to the level of petty-minded "exposes" and petty-minded rummaging in the details of others' lives.

Of course, all ideas have their proponents. But to "unmask" a proponent is not to "vanquish" the idea. This usually profanes the ideological struggle and sullies both sides.

Let us subject "Pamyat" to direct analysis as a fact of social life.

It is one manifestation of multifaceted petty bourgeois ideology. The bourgeoisie is cosmopolitan, the small property owner is a nationalist, the proletariat is international.

The ideology of the small property owner is tenacious and periodically takes off in a big way...

Instead of heroes they offer us "saints."

They refuse to acknowledge the class struggle and instead tell us to perceive a "single national spirit" which is so strong that in one novel even a Chekist commits suicide because he is unable to bear the destruction of white bandits /of the same nationality/, although he constantly put his life at risk in order to destroy them.

The clerical idea of "Orthodoxy as the homeland" displaces the proletarian formula of "socialism as the homeland." It is not the October Revolution, thanks to which we are the front runners, world leaders in social practice, but Orthodoxy, which once earned us the title of the third Rome, that is the country's pride. Moscow is transmogrified from the major center of world socialism into the "world's main moral shrine" because, you see, it is the third Rome.

A special standpoint from which our sober, sane contemporaries can look at reality is created. From this standpoint it is impossible to see that the enemy of socialism is capitalism and bourgeois propaganda rather than Satan.

If the class approach to assessing events is lost, its place can be occupied by anything you like, including a religious mystical approach. If you regard tsarism as an idyll and imagine that it is not the class struggle and social contradictions which caused particular phenomena, then there must all the same be a cause somewhere. And if not in reality then in mysticism. If it was neither social tumult nor mass movements that swept the signs and symbols of God and the tsar, along with the old order, from the face of the earth, someone must have done so. Satan, Zion, Masons...

It only remains to catch the latterday witch and burn her at the stake. All the other signs of a movement back to the middle ages are present.

If not just the class but the historical approach to events is lost, if there is a graphic demonstration of what might be called historical insensitivity (the assessment of actions not according to the conditions of the time but according to the conditions of later periods), then of course it becomes utterly impossible to understand why monuments were blown up. But then they were not monuments but nests of clerical reaction.

Mistakes were made, distortions did of course occur, as in any cause, and in such an unknown, unprecedented cause as the creation of a new society, distortions were all the more possible. There were distortions and they were inevitable.

What has Satan got to do with this?

Now for bureaucracy.

Bureaucracy, according to Lenin, is the "...subordination of the interest of the cause to the interests of one's /career/, paying attention purely to getting /cushy jobs/ and ignoring work..." In other words, it is the personal selfish interest so characteristic of the philistine, whatever post he has scabbled his way into, and not the interest of international Zionism.

To tell the whole truth, "Pamyat" can only bring joy to Zionists, it must suit them: It provides grounds for loudly yelling about anti-Semitism in the USSR.

We have spoken about small property owners' petty bourgeois ideology. Now a few words about the petty bourgeois mentality.

The small property owner would not be what he is if he did not suffer from a terrible envy of everyone who raises himself above his level and experience a sense of irritation at them. Hence the petty-minded desire to do everything to sully the name of any notable person in order to show: He is as base as I am. Hence the frenzied search for scapegoats: That is why I'm so insignificant. Remember the report by D. Vasilyev: "One in three of you has a brilliant mind," but someone has prevented this potential from being realized. Against the background of nationalism this "someone" is often a non-Russian or adherent of a different creed. In this case a Jew. Add mysticism and the "culprit" becomes a Mason.

And now look, if you have the opportunity, at a group of similar "geniuses" of Jewish nationality. You will be regaled with stories through the night to the effect that it is the ... anti-Semites who have prevented them from realizing their potential.

There is only one way out of this vicious circle--internationalism. Proletarian internationalism. No nation or homeland is better or worse than any other. Benefits, honor, and status are strictly dependent upon labor for the good of the people.

Of course, mafias, clans, and elites can be organized not just on the basis of their members' common method of robbing the people but also on national lines, since everything archaic bears the imprint of tribal relations. But their nature is bourgeois and petty bourgeois, it is a question of class contradictions rather than a question of the "enmity" of nationalities or Judaism's "aggression" toward Orthodoxy.

...an acquaintance rang me a short while back and said:

"Your place has been published again in a black-bordered Masonic obituary box."

"What?"

"A black-bordered Masonic obituary box... That means you have been condemned and they are signaling the fact to one another."

Away from me, away! My acquaintance is a thoroughly decent person. He had no intention at all of worrying me unnecessarily or of being provocative. It was his sincerely held opinion, and he was warning me in good faith of the danger.

I opened the newspaper at the article. Serious articles--the theory of Marxism, profiles of congress delegates, reviews of political literature, and so forth--are traditionally surrounded by austere double lines.

But what can be done about medieval mysticism? About their mystical "presence"? Maybe I'll go off and ask the production editor--I get on pretty well with him--to set another piece of mine in the box reserved for those "condemned by the Masons"! And I'll get something or other printed so you can read it when you hold it up against the light... "Tragedy at Dawn" or "Accident," for example. Unfortunately, it would not work. Other pages are in charge of other duty personnel, none of whom would put an unsuitable headline for his article for the sake of my whim.

A newspaper is produced in metal. If you wanted to hold it up against the light and tilted the metal form containing the articles, for one thing, there would be nothing visible, and, for another, the metal lines would fall apart. There would be quite a row and you'd get fined. The next day there's be a reprimand. You'd be suspected of being drunk...

However, I have been rambling on. I will be brief. Mysticism is mysticism, and is there any need to rebut it?

/9738

CSO: 1800/657



GOSKINO CHAIRMAN KAMSHALOV MEETS WITH NEWSMEN

PM130825 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 May 87 Morning Edition p 3

[A. Lebedev report: "Press Conference at the USSR State Committee for Cinematography: New Films, Old Problems"]

[Text] As already reported in IZVESTIYA, the USSR State Committee for Cinematography [Goskino] has introduced the practice of holding meetings with newspaper, radio, and television journalists. The latest such meeting was held on 6 May. It was conducted by Goskino Chairman A.I. Kamshalov.

The 20th All-Union Film Festival will take place in Tbilisi 18 through 25 May. More than 100 feature, news, documentary, popular science, and cartoon films have been entered in competition. The festival motto is "For Civic-minded Cinematic Art and Artistic and Moral Exactingness." The competition juries will be headed by well-known Georgian moviemakers E. Shengelaya, L. Gogoberidze, M. Kokochashvili, and R. Gabriadze.

The festival will allocate 2 days to a "Free Forum." The theme of discussion will be "What Should the Soviet Cinema of Tomorrow be Like?" Evenings commemorating Andrey Tarkovskiy and Ilya Averbach will be held.

A. Kamshalov also spoke about the preparations for the 15th Moscow International Film Festival, which is to run from 6 through 17 July. Requests to take part in the feature film competition have been submitted by cinematographers from 47 countries, with 21 countries applying for the children's film competition and 26 for the documentary competition. Seventy-five films have already been entered for showing out of competition.

Outstanding exponents of world cinema expected to take part in the Moscow film festival include Giulietta Masina, Milos Forman, Stanley Kramer, Jack Lemmon, Jack Nicholson, Meryl Streep, Gregory Peck, Robert Redford, Giuseppe de Santis... The question of who will head the feature and children's film competitions is still open for the moment.

The Goskino chairman spoke about a joint session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities Public Education and Culture Commissions which examined problems of producing children's films.

Answering a question from journalists about the progress of restructuring in the country's leading film studios, A. Kamshalov said that "Questions of training cadres and cadre policy remain fundamental today. Discussion of nominations for artistic leadership posts is under way in all eight of the Moscow Film Studio's associations. Candidates include outstanding filmmakers like Yu. Rayzman, S. Bondarchuk, R. Bykov, G. Daneliya, S. Solovyev, V. Menshov, V. Chernykh, and K. Shankhazarov. Prior to voting candidates will set out their ideological and artistic program. Elections for the post of director of the Central Documentary Film Studio have been held. V. Novikov, who previously worked as the studio's chief editor, received the largest number of votes of the three candidates who stood.

The situation at the All-Union State Cinematography Institute remains difficult. IZVESTIYA wrote about this recently (Issue No. 112). There is still no rector, and the leadership of faculties and workshops is below full strength.

In the light of the retirement on pension of V. Baskakov, director of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Film Art, it has been decided to hold the first-ever open competition to fill the vacant post of institute director.

The Goskino chairman then broached the question of film stock production and described the situation as catastrophic. Work on seven films had to be halted in April alone as a result of interrupted deliveries of film stock. The timetable agreed with the Ministry of the Chemical Industry has not been kept. The ministry has shown a shortfall of 231,000 meters of negative stock, or 7.8 percent of the total. There has been a shortfall of 280,000 meters of duplicate negative stock--that is 28.7 percent of requirements--and 483,000 meters of sound track--10.5 percent of total planned deliveries.

The Goskino chairman concluded by briefing the journalists on the recently issued order "On the Creative Work of the Permanent Staff of Film Studios and Workers of the USSR State Committee for Cinematography and Union Republic State Committees for Cinematography." It states, among other things, that:

"Film directors were wholly or partly responsible for the screenplays of 50 percent of films produced at the Moscow Film Studio in 1985, and one in three films produced at the Gorkiy and Belorussian Film Studios was cowritten.

"Cases of contracts to write screenplays being concluded with the permanent studio staff and the apparatus of the USSR Goskino without relevant authorizations... have been brought to light at the Dovzhenko Film Studio.

"The Moldavian SSR Goskino quite often acquired low-grade screenplays on the instruction of the republic Goskino chairman or his deputy and were subsequently written off..."

"These and many other cases," A. Kamshalov stressed, "made it necessary to ban film studios concluding screenplay contracts for full-length features with the permanent staff of the aforementioned studios or with the workers of the Goskino of the USSR or union republics. The question of coauthorship by a director and a literary screenplay writer will henceforth be examined individually by the USSR Goskino on submission by the film studio's artistic council."

/9738

CSO: 1800/657

## OPINION POLL SHOWS MIXED AUDIENCE, VIEWS ON FILM 'REPENTANCE'

Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 9 Apr 87 p 4

[Article by A. Bogdanov and V. Vilchek under the rubric "Sociologists Comment": "'Repentance' and 1,000 Confessions"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] Sociologists from the All-Union Cinema Art Research Institute have begun a study entitled "Movies: Indicators of Restructuring." Of restructuring in real life. Of restructuring within the movie industry itself. The first subject of their research was picked unanimously by film critics, movie scholars and filmmakers: T. Abuladze's film "Repentance." A survey was conducted first in Moscow and later in Lyubertsy, where audiences conform more closely to a nationwide model. Observation of the reception and effect of this movie in various regions of the country is continuing, but we feel that even the preliminary results of this survey are of interest.

## An Inverted Pyramid

Experienced prognosticators who saw "Repentance" several months before it was released had differing opinions. The optimists felt that the film could attract a very large audience for a "serious" film: up to seven or even eight million viewers. The pessimists predicted an audience half that size...

During the first six weeks of its run in Moscow, a total of 2.5 million tickets to "Repentance" have been sold. More than the ticket sales for "20th Century Pirates," the most profitable movie in recent years.

Can it be that a miracle has occurred? Have audiences turned away from entertaining themes and gotten interested in pondering the drama of history and the metaphysical abysses of the human spirit? No, there are no sociological miracles: people are not standing in line at the box office everywhere, and there was nothing at all miraculous about what we observed in Moscow. The prognosticators were not completely off the mark: the movie has not been a success with the traditional movie audience, and it is very important to understand that in order to be able to comprehend the phenomenon of "Repentance."

Over a period of many years and for many reasons the term "movie audience" has become a highly specific concept. "Movie audience" refers to those 50 percent of the Soviet population which buy 95 percent of all movie tickets. Of this group, two-thirds are younger than 30 and one-fourth are between the ages of 30 and 50; only a very few are over the age of 50. Movie distribution has become almost completely oriented toward the interest of young people, and huge movie theaters have been forced to look for new common denominators of such interests, finding them in the form of profitable one-day showings.

Thus a closed circle was formed which only a movie of uncommonly powerful spiritual effect could break.

The audience which is going to see "Repentance" is also uncommon. In it individuals under the age of 30 make up almost one-third, and persons over the age of 50 one-fourth. Three-quarters of the viewers surveyed in Moscow had either complete or incomplete higher education.

From a sociological standpoint -- and this is probably the greatest revelation -- T. Abuladze's film has discovered the existence of a new movie audience, a new moviegoing continent which on previous maps of the movie world looked like a tiny island. This continent needs to be explored and brought to life, else it could turn into an Atlantis once again.

#### A Spectrogram of Success

The spectrum of viewers' appraisals and interpretations of this picture was also highly complex. We already knew that the critics had almost unanimously called "Repentance" an outstanding film. There was no corresponding unanimity among viewers (which gives us reason to wonder just how representative the critics are), and viewers' interpretations of the movie and their emotional reactions to it were very contrasting and at times unexpected.

Here are some of the comments written on our questionnaires:

"It is hard to know what to say. It was terrifying and amazing. There has never been anything like it before. I sat there awestruck. The idea and the execution were both so unusual and innovative, but splendid. It makes me want to live."

"It was a heavy, complex film. All it did for me was put me in a bad mood."

"The movie was masterfully done, but for what purpose? Just to say that there was nothing good about us back then?"

"A wonderful film. They have finally started calling things by their proper names. We need more such films, so that people will learn not to be uncaring robots, so that our children and grandchildren will finally find the way to the Temple."

"Is it necessary to stir up the past? There is a good folk saying about that: 'Don't carry the dead from the cemetery.'"

An attempt to organize these responses into categories shows that almost one-half of the viewers participating in the survey shared the opinion of those critics who rated "Repentance" as an outstanding film (49 percent of the generation of the "grandsons," 43 percent of the "fathers," and 41 percent of the "grandfathers"). Young people were the most enthusiastic portion of the audience, and elderly people were the most reserved in their comments.

This paradox is due to the particular features of "Repentance" itself. It is not an informational movie. It does not so much tell its audience a story as it serves as the audience's confessor, awakening hidden things in one's soul.

From the written comments on the questionnaires:

"In many scenes in the film it was me, it was my husband who was in trouble... I would huddle down in my seat every time that Aravidze smiled and prepared to do his next evil deed."

A majority of viewers from the older generation saw the movie as an allegorical recounting of events which they had experienced, and not all of them could identify with the plaintiffs in the trial which they were seeing on the screen. Hence the irritated and at times even hostile responses to the movie: "Truth, half-truth and lies. This movie should be taken off the screen." But they had wanted to be a spectator in that court. A majority of young people felt that the movie was an illustration to accompany a book with which they are not familiar. Or, more precisely, a book with the pages ripped out.

A scene in front of the theater. An elderly woman is regretfully selling tickets. A young couples approaches and asks: "What is this movie about?" She replies: "They say it's about Beria." "Who's that?" they ask. The woman looks at the happy couple with alarmed incomprehension.

From the comments on the questionnaires:

"This movie was greatly needed, but one should see it after a certain amount of preparation. Otherwise, will it touch people? We also need movies which will prepare audiences for 'Repentance'."

"I didn't like the movie. It was a mixture of comedy and tragedy. A complete muddle. Several corpses, but no connection is made between them. Obviously some sort of explanation before the movie is needed. I sat through the whole thing, because it has a good cast, good music and an attractive look."

Evaluations of the picture broken down by social status are even more contrasting than those based on age. This is particularly evident if we analyze the reception of the film by three clearly defined social and vocational groups. For example, 59 percent of those individuals belonging to the scientific and humanitarian intelligentsia shared the film critics' opinion, but only 37 percent of white-collar workers (employed in the

managerial and administrative fields) were of this opinion, and an equal number -- 37 percent -- of blue-collar workers felt that way. However, the reasons for a superficial coincidence of attitudes toward the movie on the part of the latter two groups vary; this is illustrated, in part, by written comments taken from our questionnaires.

From a letter received from engineer A. Prigozhin: "I also have some comments. There is a certain artistic heterogeneity, which is surprising coming from cameraman M. Agranovich, and, the most important thing, the idea of religious morality and religious morality alone is disturbingly obtrusive."

Here is a comment from a questionnaire:

"If this tendency survives, our cinema art will become the best in the world, like Russian literature in the 19th century." (age 45, scientist)

And from a letter from A. Sarychev of Moscow:

"Too late for an outcry, too subtle for real penitence, too rectilinear and simple for reflections of a universal nature..."

Unfortunately, for the majority of viewers a critical attitude toward the movie or difficulty understanding it were synonymous with denial of the need for such a movie at all. Some comments: "The usual nonsense." "I find movies like this as repulsive as Tarkovskiy's films." "A difficult film. Why do we need it? Let those whom it concerns watch it." "It's a crime to actually pay people to make things like that."

Obviously, the majority of these viewers did not accept the movie. An oral survey confirms this assumption and gives us a realistic idea of the range of opinions. Approximately one-half of those who saw it had a positive impression of the movie, one-third of the audience had a negative reaction to "Repentance," and the rest had no firm opinion.

Nevertheless, it was a definite success. In the words of the poet: "An amazingly loud echo... Evidently such is the era in which we live."

#### Restructuring of the Soul

The reason for the success of this movie -- a success which seems strange, considering the hostile attitude of a significant portion of its audience -- must be considered in light of the times in which we are living. A time of openness and truth, a time of thinking in a new way and on a new scale. The success of "Repentance" is rooted in its psychological timeliness -- it is in that direction, not toward currently fashionable topics and popular genres, that filmmakers should focus their efforts. Viewers' attitudes toward T. Abuladze's film most often reflect their attitudes toward it as a symptom of our era.

From comments on questionnaires and letters from people belonging to all the generations and social groups which we have mentioned:

"The film touches on a purely contemporary issue: that of the roots of the ills which are currently doing so much to hinder us from restructuring our society."

"This film is timely. Our society has entered a new stage of development. And it is very important to know that only free people can create a wonderful society."

"The fact that such a movie has been released is convincing evidence of the revolutionary process which has begun in our society, to the leadership of which resolute people have advanced, people who are genuine communists, people who are eradicating negative, unsocialist phenomena not just with words, but with actions."

We studied the spiritual orientations of both the viewers who accepted the movie and those who rejected it. The interests of the former were more likely to tend toward publicistic programs on television and names like Tarkovskiy, Klimov, German, Bykov, Panfilov and Abdrashitov on the wide screen, and names like Aytmatov, Granin, Rasputin and Astafyev in magazine prose. The interests of the latter group tended toward entertainment programming on TV and the commercially-profitable repertoire of movie theaters.

Obviously, what we have said does not mean that there is no need for realistic pictures concerning complex, tragic events and sinister figures in our history. They are needed, they are absolutely essential, particularly in the form of documentary and fictional series on TV. But the mass interest in "Repentance" is not an interest in history, but rather in the living present.

Prevalent among young viewers was the tone expressed on one of the questionnaires by a short phrase which is the best thing that an artist can hear: "We're really great!" Not "he" -- Tengiz Aduladze, not "they" -- his friends and colleagues, but "we": the great and many-sided people which created the movie, which brought it to the screen, which applauded in the overflowing theaters...

#### A Word of Praise for the Ticket Lines

They applauded in Moscow. Nearby, in the Moscow suburb of Zelenograd, doors could often be heard slamming as people got up to leave. The employees of Goskino are hearing even louder slamming of doors now in Rostov and in Petrozavodsk. Thus a special word here about distribution problems.

By all indications it is easier to handle "serious" movies in Moscow than in the majority of other cities. But credit should be given to movie distributors in Moscow; they showed "Repentance" in an intelligent fashion. It is good that they started out with a small number of copies, and good that people had to stand in line in front of the theaters. If the movie had suddenly appeared on 20 screens at once, who knows, maybe the result would have been disappointing.



In Moscow the showing of "Repentance" worked out well in all respects: there were articles on it at the appropriate time, and a positive opinion of the film spread faster than the lines could advance toward the box office window.

In Lyubertsy one could sense the influence of people standing in line in the capital, but the situation was still not the same as in Moscow. In Lyubertsy the composition of the audience was somewhat different, and there was almost no indication that the press had helped popularize the movie. But at the October Theater in Lyubertsy there is an experienced and innovated theater director named N. Moiseyev. Nina Grigoryevna wanted very much for her viewers to see this movie, and she made a decision which was unexpected and, it seemed to us, risky.

The thrust of that decision was to make what the movie critics and movie scholars were saying an integral part of the showing of the film. The newsreel was dropped and replaced with a 10-minute tape recording of conversations with people who had seen the movie, backed up by sociological data; this tactic put the audience in the right frame of mind to watch the movie.

"Standing in line irritates me..." Who has not said that? But it is wonderful that there were lines at the box office. We must try to ensure that they do not disappear: if people are standing in line for "Repentance," then the movie industry can look to the future with hope.

12825

CSO: 1800/496

## REMOVAL OF FOREIGN FILMS CAUSES LOSS OF 30 MILLION RUBLES

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Apr 87 p 4

[Article by G. Melekhov: "And What Will We Be Seeing on the Screen?"; first two paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] What is new in our country's filmmaking? At what stage of restructuring is it? What problems remain to be solved? These were the questions asked at a meeting between A. I. Kamsharov, USSR Goskino chairman, and journalists.

The conversation lasted almost two hours. There were many questions which were not discussed. There would probably not be enough time to discuss all of them in one conversation. Therefore it was agreed that these discussions will be held on a monthly basis between journalists and the administrators of USSR Goskino. We will also be reporting on those meetings.

## The Result of a Role-Playing Model

"In January 1987," began A. Kamsharov, "a plenum of the Board of the USSR Union of Cinematographers approved a new movie production model. What does that mean? Administrative forms and methods of management will give way to economic methods. Cost-accounting [khozraschet] will be the decisive means for achieving this. With, of course, a subsequent transition to self-financing and self-support."

"The new model was created by democratic means. It was widely discussed, planned out and approved with a role-playing model [problemno-delovaya igra] at the House of Creativity in Bolshevo, outside Moscow. The "players" were set designers and directors, technicians and actors, management experts, lawyers and sociologists, economists and mathematicians, and the heads of the Union of Cinematographers and USSR Goskino. Now we want to transform this model into reality."

"Restructuring in the movie industry has had a slow start: we should have started it in 1985, but basically we are only now getting started with it. We have a difficult heritage, in terms of organization, and planning, and material and technical supply. One example: a mass of mediocre domestic

movies plus mediocre foreign films have erected a psychological wall between the filmmaker and the audience. Breaking down that wall cannot be accomplished in a single day or perhaps even in a single year. It is good that we have dethroned lightweight "entertainment" films. But it is bad that foreign films have been taken off the screen, 25,000 copies of them, even though they were not "harmful" films. The result? We had a shortfall of 30 million rubles on the state plan for movie box office receipts last year."

#### In Plans and in Real Life

"There is a chronic lag in the construction of new movie theaters. This is a very important issue: each year in our country 120 movie theaters are closed 'on account of delapidation.' Of these, 50 should be replaced with state capital investment funds, and the other 70 with a combination of Gosbank loans and local resources. But the ispolkoms of local soviets do not want to deal with this; they do not want to seek out local resources. The solution is, retaining loans as the source of financing, to make sure that all of our construction sites are supplied with materials as specified in the plan."

"One special issue is movie film. The annual demand for movie film totals 950 million meters. But the chemists only promise to produce that quantity by 1990. During the just-completed first quarter they fell below plan by 34 million meters: supposedly they were 'hindered' by state acceptance. As a result, film crews are standing idle, and the printing of movies for distribution has been slowed down. The movie "Repentance," which has been seen by 2.6 million people in Moscow in just six weeks, was still not being shown throughout the country at the end of March due to an insufficient number of copies. And the movie 'Is It Easy to be Young?' was only shown in one movie theater in the capital -- because that was the only copy!"

"Recently my colleagues from Gosteleradio [State Television and Radio] and I met with the heads of the Ministry of the Chemical Industry. We agreed to rectify the situation. Specifically, the chemists pledged to compensate for part of what they had failed to deliver by buying film abroad. But when will we get our own high-quality movie film?"

#### Firsthand News

Recently USSR Goskino introduced a new statute governing movie production. This is a temporary statute, designed to cover a transition period, and later experience will correct and refine it. "Gradually," continues A. Kamshalov, "we will replace thematic planning of movie production with long-range programs and coordination of various studios' plans. The primary lever for exerting influence on the ideological orientation of the film repertoire will be state contracts. We hope that such contracts will make it possible to a) deal with timely topics better, b) give young filmmakers independence and c) support the efforts of republic-level film studios."

"One more bit of news: we have set up a workshop for children's movies at the Mosfilm Studio. Its director is Roland Bykov. There are only a few

production organizers on the workshop staff. The actors, directors and technicians will all work on a contract basis, and all of them can be brought in from other studios. Overall we have expanded the plan for children's movies to 30 titles per year, and funding for adventure, fantasy and children's-story movies will be allocated on the basis of new standards. It is time that we stopped regard children's movies as somehow 'second-rate'."

A. Kamshalov was asked: "The changes in the structure of the film industry and in the functions of Goskino should logically lead to changes in the composition of the Goskino board, should they not?" He replied: "Yes, of course. What we have now are something like lifetime board members. And, quite frankly, they are not as active as they could be. There will also be renewal in this area. I think that that will happen in the near future."

#### Moscow, Tbilisi, Cannes

The Goskino chairman mentioned these places as the sites of the largest film festivals slated for the upcoming year. Chronologically, the first of them will be held in the French city of Cannes between 6 and 19 May. The jury at Cannes will be headed by Yves Montand, and Elem Klimov has been invited to serve as a member of the jury. Our country is represented in the main competition by T. Abuladze's "Repentance," as well as by several other pictures in various divisions of the festival, including "Is It Easy to Be Young?" by Yu. Podnieks.

On 18 May the All-Union Film Festival opens in Tbilisi. And, finally, on 6-17 June the 15th International Moscow Film Festival will be held. Changes have been made in its traditions. Thus, 27 films will be selected for the competition, instead of 45 as had previously been the case. An addition will be "Panorama," a broad exhibition of films from various countries which are not part of the competition, but which are of genuine interest. There will only be one representative from each country, including the USSR, on the jury. The chairman of the jury for the short film and documentary film contest has already been announced: Ales Adamovich, Belorussian writer and screenwriter. The juries of the contests for feature films and children's movies will be headed up by outstanding masters from abroad. One of the festival's retrospectives will be devoted to the work of Soviet director Andrey Tarkovskiy.

#### Still, the Movies are the Most Important Thing

There is no disputing this undoubtedly correct statement. Basically everything boils down to one question: what will we be seeing on the screen? That is what the models and the plans and the restructuring of the movie industry are all about.

As usual, there are 130 movies on this year's production plan. Young filmmakers are currently presenting interesting works and ideas. Among these are "The War Was Tomorrow" by Yu. Kara, "The Gardener" by V. Buturlin, "Sign of Trouble" by M. Ptashuk (based on a story by V. Bykov) and "Autumn Dreams"

by I. Dobrol'yubov (based on a play by A. Dudarev). New works are being filmed by E. Ryazanov ("Forgotten Melody for Flute"), N. Gubenko ("The Forbidden Zone"), M. Khutsiyev ("Infinity"), A. Saltykov ("The Fire" -- based on a story by V. Rasputin) and E. Ishmukhamedov ("The No-Criticism Zone"). Filming by Ye. Matveyev ("Remission") and St. Rostotskiy ("Weeping Grass") is just getting under way. In June L. Kulidzhanov has promised to show us the first three films in his documentary epic entitled "The 20th Century." M. Babak is working on a movie tentatively titled "Calendar Pages," which is drawn from material contained in an old newsreel. These, I reiterate, are only a few names and a few works. Three directors offered at the same time to make a movie based on Ch. Aytmatov's novel "The Executioner's Block"...

#### "Dark Eyes" and Others

Creative cooperation between our filmmakers and foreign filmmakers is expanding. G. Panfilov is currently working with an Italian movie company on the movie "Banned People," based on Gorky's story "Mother." Famous Italian director Sergio Leone is preparing to film a picture about Leningrad under siege, and West German director Peter Fleischmann is working at the Film Studio imeni Dovzhenko on a fantasy film entitled "It's Hard to be a God," based on a novel by the Strugatskiy brothers. There are also other plans for coproductions. And there are also simply some productions being done with the assistance of our masters of film. Thus, N. Mikhalkov has already completed the filming in Italy of "Dark Eyes" with Marcello Mastroiani; a great deal has been written about that.

12825

CSO: 1800/496

## IZVESTIYA ON PLIGHT OF MOSCOW'S VAKHTANGOV THEATER

PM171651 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 May 1987 Morning Edition carries on page 3 a 1,400-word M. Shvydkoy article on the plight of Moscow's Vakhtangov Theater entitled "One Year On: What Is the Service of the Muses Enduring?" A brief editorial introduction states that the "artistic leadership (chief director--USSR People's Artist Yevgeniy Simonov) has lost touch with the real current of theatrical life and the Vakhtangov tradition." Last year an article on the Vakhtangov was published in IZVESTIYA by Shvydkoy and he now comments on what has happened in the interim.

The author points out that the RSFSR Culture Ministry, recognizing problems existed, adopted a "compromise decision" whereby the chief director ceased to be chairman of the artistic council and 11 of the 17 seats on it became elective. Simonov lost his veto but the situation remained "desperate," because while the artistic council went in one direction, being more socially oriented, Simonov, a champion of poetic theater, was going in another. The author describes the situation that resulted as a "dyarchy," with relations between the two sides "extremely strained." Artistically, the season has not been a success: "Artists have performed very poorly in recent works put on by Ye. Simonov." And Shvydkoy continues: "It is not a question here of whether the concept of poetic theater satisfies the Vakhtangov company but the fact that the realization of this concept fails to convince." It is mentioned in passing that Simonov used to be a theatrical "untouchable" and beyond criticism.

The author concludes:

"In short, the year that has elapsed since the RSFSR Ministry of Culture Collegium decision has only exacerbated the Vakhtangov Theater's problems. After all, in actual fact, if one is to be honest, the aim of the decision was to be a fudge.

"Compromises will solve nothing here: It is essential that a risk be taken today, for tomorrow may turn out to be too late. The Vakhtangov Theater cannot go on in its present semiparalyzed state. The theater needs a united

artistic creative will more than ever today, the theater needs a leader-- someone who is believed in and who will carry the artistic majority with him. A leader who will know how to attract young creative people imbued with the Vakhtangov credo and young directors. Every art-lover will appreciate the need today to instill new life in the Vakhtangov tradition and to restore and augment the glory of a theater which is not just one of the country's many theatrical entities but part of our cultural history."

/9738

CSO: 1800/658

## ARTISTS FEEL REALISM IS LOSING GROUND TO 'AVANT-GARDISM'

PM271451 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 May 87 Second Edition p 3

[Interview with V. Kemenov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Arts, by correspondent D. Gorbuntsov under the rubric "The Artist and the Times": "Deep Roots"]

[Excerpts] A routine Russian artists' congress begins in Moscow tomorrow. On the eve of it PRAVDA's correspondent met with V. Kemenov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Arts.

[Gorbuntsov] In their letters to the editorial office PRAVDA readers--M. Abakumov, an artist from Kolomna near Moscow [and, incidentally, himself a delegate to the upcoming congress]; V. Sokolov, a construction worker from Tyumen; L. Rybalchenko, a schoolteacher from Altay Kray; and others--voice alarm at the fate of realism in modern graphic art. They believe that realism has increasingly been losing ground to avant-gardism at exhibitions recently.

[Kemenov] There is cause for alarm. And it is elicited not only or perhaps not so much by the nature of recent exhibitions as by the nature of the coverage of them in a number of press articles and television programs.

Take the recent exhibition of works by young Moscow artists. Noisy publicity began in articles by A. Kamenskiy, A. Morozov, and others immediately after it opened. Thus A. Kamenskiy proclaimed the rejection of previous ways of holding exhibitions and praised the "playful, carnival principle" which gives rise to "new aesthetics and unprecedented...means and methods." Other articles claim that, since the pictures are hung in the middle of the room and their reverse side can be seen, this creates "a sense of (the viewer's) involvement in the living, current, fickle process of social life." Some people hastened to call that exhibition neither more nor less than... "a land mark in the development of Soviet graphic art." And, in general, it was said to have been programmed "as an example of specific restructuring of exhibition work and, probably, partly also of artistic consciousness."



In fact it is my profound conviction that the exhibition certainly did not reflect the really creative face of talented young Moscow artists fruitfully participating in the general development of our art. Moreover, the exhibition organizers did everything to "suppress" the best works and set them up under conditions of a fairground booth, ruling out any possibility of perceiving the canvases in the normal manner.

One cannot help recalling that this is not the first time that adherents of modernism have tried to "squeeze out" realistic easel paintings. Today, under the guise of restructuring, some people try to regard them as a stagnant phenomenon, as a stereotype that must be broken. I can see behind this attack an attempt to revise Marxist-Leninist aesthetics and to mount a frontal offensive against the principles of socialist realist art.

[Gorbuntsov] Does it not follow from what you have said that exhibitions of this kind should not be organised at all?

[Kemenov] Prohibition in art (with the exception, of course, of propaganda of anti-Sovietism, racism, and pornography) is unacceptable. It is counter-productive. Forbidden fruit seems sweet, excites curiosity, and prompts serious people to travel to the other end of the city to see the free-and-easy "individual self-expression" of an incompetent dilettante and say to console themselves: "All the same, there is something there..."

Recent exhibitions in the capital have shown that some young artists and certain critics want to use restructuring as an opportunity which has emerged to restore the positions of so-called avant-gardism. Their platform is the demand for absolute freedom of self-expression, without any ideological or creative criteria whatever and with no civic responsibility to the people on the artist's part. As a result, even at the all-union exhibition "The Country's Youth" good works were lost among dubious "experiments" in the form of paint splashed out of cans and running down the canvas or huge vulgar paintings designed to shock viewers, like "Cleopatra's Grief," "Chameleons' Festival," "Beneath the Roof of One's House..." There is a distressing desire on the part of a number of young painters to seek new things by replacing realistic imagery with subjective signs and dubious symbolism, by using methods of photorealism, surrealism, and so forth.

Of course, it is good that there are no more forbidden subjects. But this is just the first step toward openness, which is inseparable from the truth. What is needed here is competent work on the part of art criticism and a well-reasoned analysis of the objective meaning (or proof of the meaninglessness) of the works exhibited.

From time immemorial total license has been alien to the Russian artistic consciousness, just as it is, incidentally, alien to absolutely any artist who works seriously. Today, during the times of restructuring and renewal, it is all the more unacceptable on both the aesthetic plane and the socio-ethical and moral plane. The artist's self-expression, for which the champions

of total license campaign so hard, cannot be the aim of creativity. The aim of art is to reflect the truth of life in all its fullness and complexity and in the profundity of artistic generalizations. To portray the positive without embellishment or sickly sweetness, and the negative without relishing shortcomings or duplicating what is ugly on the canvas--this is what is needed. There must be just one beacon for every one of us here--the socialist ideal and the lofty order of the Soviet person's feelings and thoughts.

/9738

CSO: 1800/654

## RSFSR ARTIST DEPLORES 'MURKY' AVANT-GARDISM

PM281435 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 16 May 87 p 5

[Article by P. Chusovitin, honored artist of the RSFSR: "Different Tracks"]

[Text] The main question which our artists' congress has to answer is: What is the meaning of restructuring in fine art, and what position should it occupy in the general restructuring of the country's spiritual culture. The weight and importance of artists' contribution to this statewide and nationwide cause will depend on a correct answer to this question. What is the contemporary picture of life within the union, what are we taking to the congress? In my view, the most typical feature of the situation currently prevailing in fine art consists of a fairly successful attempt by the most destructive forces of the braking mechanism from the preceding period of stagnation to head the process of its restructuring. Is this not an excessive exaggeration? No, and it would, alas, be rather strange if the very beginning of the process of restructuring in fine art appeared different. After all, the stagnation period was such because people interested in stagnation gained certain advantages. Otherwise there would have been no stagnation. Having gained considerable real influence within the Artist Union during that period, these forces and these persons took advantage of their influence to establish a grip upon restructuring, give it their own interpretation, and guide it in a direction suitable to them. The old sins of the new champions of restructuring could be forgotten if their wish to start a new life in a new fashion were selfless and sincere. But the point is that the "restructuring" they implement is essentially the supreme expression of a stagnation which was not even dreamed of during the period of stagnation.

Yes, all sorts of voices have started signing the praises of exhibitions on Moscow's Kashirskoye Highway and Vostochnaya Street--comments from the fly-blown "avant-garde" which has been well known for a long time for playing the same old tune always in a new key. I claim that the objective content of most works shown at these exhibitions--and many other recent ones, by the way--which is importunately linked to the fresh winds of change, is a product of stagnation insofar as it betrays ostentation, showiness, and report mania. Despite all the apparent acuteness of the disagreements between the varnishers, prohibitors, and dogmatists on the one hand, and the avant-gardists, relativists, and pluralists on the other, they are interconnected by a profound internal kinship as two aspects of a single phenomenon that is by its very nature alien to the social and spiritual dynamics of restructuring.

Home-grown avant-gardism needs demagogues. Formerly in order to prosper in the aura of alleged persecution, and now, when the further development of openness diminishes the public's interest in this aura, to gain the bureaucratic support without which it cannot last long: After all, for a long time now it has failed to produce any original ideas to attract attention. At the same time, the leading part in this touching "dialectical" duality has been and still is, of course, played by avant-gardism rather than prohibitionism because, from the onset of the time of openness, it has become abundantly clear and obvious that nothing of the slightest genuine importance in fine art was prohibited during the previous period.

Openness--praise be!--has shown that a whole series of absolutely censorship-free or, if you like, uncensored exhibitions which have stirred primarily the emotions of bureaucrats reporting on changes, with all the abundance of cheap fakes with aspirations to unconventionality, has simply failed to produce any prohibited "underground genius" whose works would be expressions of a real spiritual quest in our time. And anyone toying with the naive idea that now, following the lifting of prohibitions, yesterday's oppositionists and wreckers [oppozitsionery i razrushiteli] will become revolutionary creators and will be able to head the artistic process along the path of its restructuring is seriously deluding himself. An assumption like this could lead from lesser to even greater stagnation. Ostentation was a substantial, but by no means the sole symptom of the stagnation developing in art. Other negative processes, occurring behind the curtain of ostentation, were equally--if not more--substantial aspects of stagnation.

Even in the past bureaucrats portraying themselves as zealous defenders of dogmatically conceived socialist realism hardly refused anything to their "ideological" opponents. If for no other reason than to justify their own existence and create a semblance of leadership of the artistic process. Now they make eyes at them and conclude a touching creative alliance with them.

The erosion of fundamental categories and principles and the rejection of clear criteria of artistic worth are symptoms of the ongoing stagnation, symptoms which emerged even at the stage of [my] admission to the Artists Union and were particularly clearly visible during [my] admission to its Moscow organization. The lowering of the level of ideological-creative unity stemming from admission practice rendered the organization's unity increasingly formal, and finally led to discussions and the need to transform it into a conglomerate of informal and financially autonomous [khozraschetnyy] creative "interest" groups. I don't, incidentally, know about the "interests" of the groups, but as for the state's interests in the context of professional fine art, these interests are that fine art should create supreme spiritual wealth of national-state importance and, consequently, of world importance. Never before has such wealth been successfully created anywhere without state support. People speaking of the need to make art financially autonomous [postavit isskustvo na khozyaystvennyy raschet] are either unaware of the state and public efforts, concerns, and funds that are needed for the emergence of major artistic achievements or are aware of this but deliberately keep silent about it in pursuit of short-term selfish interests. The introduction of financial autonomy [khozraschet] can be appropriate only in mass culture, and this is

what is sought by the representatives of our own mass culture who chose the wrong door when they entered the Artists Union.

Many of the soirees organized by creative section clubs have turned into a real school for nihilistic rejection of the best behests and loftiest traditions of our own art. In terms of both the works exhibited and the artists whose work is shown, the exhibitions on Kashirskoye Highway and Vostochnaya Street, portrayed as signs of change, took shape at club soirees actually held during the stagnation period. And it is those whose work is shown at these exhibitions who, while paying lipservice to openness, are depriving artists who subscribe to realism of the opportunity to publicly state their refusal to march along the path of such "restructuring."

But what is the meaning of restructuring in the spiritual life of society and in artistic culture?

It means the elimination of bogus and the promotion and affirmation of genuine artistic values. Restructuring means party clarity in the leadership of the artistic process. There can be argument only about the forms and methods of such leadership, but there can be no argument about the need for it. The vagueness or absence of such leadership is not restructuring, but stagnation and disintegration.

Restructuring means democratic rivalry, which is possible only on the basis of a recognition by all the competitors of common values and cultural goals. There is not and there cannot be competition between people marching in opposite directions. To unite them artificially means to harm the cause of restructuring.

Restructuring means raising the level of cultural figures' responsibility for the cause of the whole party and the whole state, it means socialist realism everywhere and in everything, in words and in deeds, socialist realism and consisting of the precise depiction and party-minded, popular assessment of all phenomena occurring in life, socialist realism that is incompatible with the mounting murky avant-garde wave.

Will the Russian artists' congress succeed in singling out the correct avenues for the development of fine art along the path of restructuring and firmly rebuffing the turncoat "spiritual clerks of works?"

/9738

CSO: 1800/654

## MOSCOW ARTIST DISCUSSES ROLE OF CREATIVE UNION

PM271452 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 May 87 p 3

[Interview with People's Artist of the RSFSR O. Savostyuk, chairman of the RSFSR Artists' Union Moscow Section Board, by our correspondent L. Nekrasova under the rubric "The Creative Union: What Should It Be?": "Only Together"---date, place of interview not stated; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] The Sixth RSFSR Artists' Union Congress beings work in the capital today. The biggest creative organization within the RSFSR Artists' Union is the Moscow organization, which has more than 4,000 members. Our correspondent L. Nekrasova discusses the problems facing the capital's masters of representational art with People's Artist of the RSFSR O. Savostyuk, chairman of the board of the RSFSR Artists' Union Moscow Section.

[Nekrasova] Oleg Mikhaylovich, at the Moscow Section's report and election conference in February many trucky, urgent questions of artists' creative work were raised--the isolation of the subsections, factionalism, leading to the crowding out of talented work which does not fit in, secrecy in the work of exhibition commissions, the lack of openness, and much more...

[Savostyuk] A moral atmosphere which is unfavorable to real art and leads to the negative phenomena discussed at the conference has developed over decades. This has led to a situation where time-serving and dilettantism, especially in painting, using "significance" or "topicality" as a cover and speculating on such important themes for Soviet representational art as the revolution, the Great Patriotic War, and the theme of labor, left no room in the exhibition hall for original, talented works which speak of what the artist has suffered, endured, and lived through but lack pomposity and ostentation. Since the work of the exhibition commissions took place behind closed doors, the artist could not appeal against their "verdict."

Now our main task is to restore a moral atmosphere which would help artists to develop new moral criteria in the perception of life and to believe that there is no need to distort creative individuality to suit officials of every hue, but that you can create as your conscience and your own perception of the world dictate.

To paraphrase Chekhov, every one of us must squeeze out from ourselves every last drop of time-serving, servility, and opportunism. We are taking the first steps in this direction, still, perhaps, timid steps for the moment. But in any event, two exhibitions--the 17th Youth Exhibition and the Spring exhibition --for all their shortcomings, were formed in an atmosphere of openness and open inspection of works by the exhibition commission. We want to prepare another exhibition where we plan to show works by undeservedly forgotten Soviet artists and remember the past for the sake of the future. The discovery (at least for the vast majority of viewers) of their names will not only restore arbitrarily erased pages of the history of Soviet representational art, but will knock the ground from under the feet of certain "geniuses" who loudly declare themselves to be innovators, yet in practice are nothing more than imitators exploiting what others discovered long ago.

[Kolpakova] What role is played by communist artists in resolving these problems and how authoritative is the party organization's opinion?

[Savostyuk] Unfortunately this role is not as significant as it should be. The reason is the established practice whereby material and technical questions, rather than the creative questions which should form the basis of our activity, have pride of place at all our meetings, both party and production meetings. Moreover the correct declarations made by certain party members are not always backed up by their creative stance. It has already been observed that the weaker an artist is, the more loudly he shouts about restructuring. But we should not be shouting, we should be working. Instant pictorial, graphic, or sculptural responses to the change- which are now taking place will do nothing for our minds or hearts. Think about the present time, experience it, interpret it artistically--that, in my view, is what is needed.

[Kolpakova] No doubt many of the problems you mention will be discussed at the Russian Artists' Congress?

[Savostyuk] Yes, we expect the congress to formulate major creative problems, in particular the thematic picture and the restoration of a high standard in painting. I think special attention will be paid to the problem of educating new creative recruits, some of whom, through our fault, become addicted to all kinds of "isms," thereby demonstrating their rejection of opportunistic art.

We should also seriously discuss the problems of modern criticism, which should work together with the artists to analyze in depth and explain today's creative processes, which are contradictory and complex. We must think about how to increase criticism's role and prestige, and, indeed, how to finance critical works.

The RSFSR Artists' Union Moscow Section advocates joining forces with all the creative organizations belonging to the RSFSR Artists' Union. We stand up for the right of every one of them to its individual face, its unique creative shape. Not to level down, not to reduce everyone to the same level, but solicitously to cultivate every original talent, so that from individual flowers there will form the unique bouquet of Russia--that is one of the main tasks which, it seems to me, the Russian Artists' Union must resolve in the near future.

## STATE OF SOVIET MUSIC CRITICIZED

PM151455 [Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 12 May 1987 carries on page 2 under the headline "Serious Concern" a 600-word unattributed report on a joint session of the USSR Ministry of Culture and the Secretariat of the USSR Composers Union board to discuss the present state of Soviet music.

According to the report, "serious concern was expressed at the session as regards the state of young people's music and the creativity of numerous rock music groups. In the overwhelming majority of cases, their musical and professional standards cannot withstand any criticism because of the poor quality and lyrics of the songs performed." This is attributable to the "absence of ties with national musical roots and the imitation of what are far from the best examples of Western musical art."

The report goes on to say that "the activity of the State Committee for Radio and Television Broadcasting was subjected to serious criticism. The airwaves today are literally flooded by numerous rock music groups of dubious merit. Following the quite recent artificial ban on rock music, there has emerged an equally artificial leaning in favor of rock music, a leaning which today does not reflect the real objective state of our musical life."

It is reported that a joint resolution has been elaborated "envisaging measures to improve the propaganda of Soviet music and fundamentally improve our musical life."

/9738

CSO: 1800/658



LEADERS SIGN OBITUARY OF WRITER KONOVALOV

PM291543 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Apr 87 Second Edition p 6

[Article by G.I. Konovalov Obituary]

[Excerpts] Soviet literature has suffered a grievous loss. Grigoriy Iavanovich Konovalov, eminent Soviet writer, member of the CPSU, RSFSR M. Gorkiy State Prize winner, and board member of the USSR and RSFSR Writers Unions, has died in his 79th year.

G.A. Aliyev, V.I. Vorotnikov, Ye. K. Ligachev, A.N. Yakovlev, Yu.P. Voronov, Yu.A. Sklyarov, A.N. Aksenov, V.G. Zakharov, A.I. Kamshalov, G.M. Markov, V.V. Karpov, A.A. Belyayev, Ye.M. Chekharin, A.A. Khomyakov, M.N. Alekseyev, A.A. Ananyev, G.Ya. Baklanov, Yu.B. Bondarev, G.A. Borovik. Yu.N. Verchenko, Yu.T. Gribov, S.P. Zalygin, Ye.A. Isayev, F.F. Kuznetsov, A.A. Mikhaylov, P.L. Proskurin, A.D. Salynskiy, K.V. Skvortsov, Yu.I. Surovtsev, and A.B. Chakovskiy.

/9738

CSO: 1800/655

## FORMER LEADERSHIP OF UZBEK WRITERS UNION SCORED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI in Uzbek on 6 February 1987 carries on pages 1 and 5 a 2,400-word article by Temur Polatov, Laureate of the Uzbek SSR State Prize imeni Khamza, entitled "Bearing" in which he discusses literary life and the work of the Uzbek Union of Writers during the 1970s and early 1980s. At that time, he states, writers and artists failed to draw serious conclusions from their errors and unless they learn the lessons of those years they cannot free their work of stagnation today. The experience of those years proved that excessive administration and paperwork are extremely harmful to the literary and creative processes. For many years only administrative leadership was exerted over literary life and talented writers, especially younger ones, were not supported. This situation allowed an unhealthy atmosphere to develop and ills to become deeply rooted. One of these ills was excessive praising. The number of works written on orders from above greatly increased. Such works were protected from criticism and their authors elevated to higher positions. When asked why they wrote such works some authors replied that they were "invited" to do so through anonymous orders. Polatov acknowledges that such orders were frequently issued and notes, "It is not a secret now that writers were sent to large projects and 'urgent sectors,' and wrote works aimed at concealing false reports, deception, and illegal acts. The writer visited a project and commented in a superficial or ceremonious fashion on the external reality, without learning (or being given the opportunity to learn) anything about the actual situation there. Some works of this kind praised to the skies the opening of new lands and the expansion of irrigated fields...The present and future of the Aral Sea was never in their thoughts." The basic cause of such ills was the management of literary life through administrative means. However, Polatov states, it is difficult to fool the masses, and today numerous works written during that period gather dust in bookstores.

Polatov points out that in those years the Writers Union became an immense bureaucracy. Instead of establishing direct relationships with writers it approached all in a generalized fashion. Campaigning peaked, mobile secretariats increased, and the membership was enlarged by artificial means. Polatov asks, "What did they have in mind? Turning the Writers Union into a ministry?" He urges that help and support be extended to young writers, so that the error of the past, when they were ignored and failed to mature to a truly creative level, is not repeated. He criticizes the artificial character of most depictions of nationalities

in works that treated the themes of friendship and brotherhood, and adds, "In fact the Russian writer can create a true character only by knowing extremely well the Uzbek national character, language, history, and customs. And these same demands hold for the Uzbek author who tries to create a Russian character. Only this can genuinely serve true friendship and brotherhood."

Polatov warns that, unlike in the past, elections in the Writers Union must be held on a democratic basis. The most serious errors can be committed when an unacceptable leader is appointed because it effects the entire collective and literary process. The prestige of any creative union depends both on its creative level and the prestige of its leader.

#### AFGHAN UZBEK NEWSPAPER COVERS CULTURAL HERITAGE

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI in Uzbek on 20 February 1987 carries on page 5 a 400-word article by Tokhtamurod Zufarov entitled "On the Pages of YULDUZ" in which he notes that a 10-year program dedicated to the study of the great Classical Uzbek poet Alisher Navoi has begun in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Part of this work consists of familiarizing Afghans with the life and works of the poet. Active in this is the Uzbek-language newspaper YULDUZ which is an organ of the DRA Ministry of Nationalities and Tribal Affairs. One of last year's issues of YULDUZ was devoted to Navoi and it included samples of Navoi's works and an article providing general information of the poet's life. Such basic information is greatly needed by Afghan workers because over the centuries they have been insufficiently informed of their cultural heritage.

#### CONCERN VOICED FOR DECLINE IN CRIMEAN TATAR READERSHIP

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI in Uzbek on 20 February 1987 carries on page 5 a 1,200-word article by Shokir Selimov entitled "The Age of Renewal and Literature" in which he discusses some of the work that has appeared in the Crimean Tatar literary journal YILDIZ. He shares the view of other writers that Crimean Tatar authors lack sufficient initiative so that very few works containing profound philosophical and ideological thoughts and polished artistry are being created. He quotes the author Ervin Umerov who writes, "Most readers are intellectual, have higher education, and are between the ages of 40 and 50. Very few of them are reading works published in their native language. Why is this? Because basically most of the works in our native language are artistically weak." Selimov concludes that in recent years there has arisen a feeling of dissatisfaction with and concern for the fate of Crimean Tatar literature.

9439

CSO: 1836/409

MOSCOW TV INTERVIEWS PROCURACY OFFICIAL

LD181208 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1457 GMT 14 May 87

[From the "Man and Law" program; interview with Oleg Vasiliyevich Soroka, deputy procurator general, by correspondent Rostislav Andreyev; including video recorded interviews with A.N. Trifokov, first deputy procurator of Krasnoyarsk Kray, and A.L. Shpeyer, Procuracy investigator]

[Excerpts] [Andreyev] Oleg Vasiliyevich, for a long time the Procuracy was among those organizations not reached by criticism, in public at least. What are the consequences of this stage of your activity and how do you assess them?

[Soroka] I agree with you that for a long time the activity of the Procuracy was closed to a certain extent and, in my view, this had a most unfavorable effect on it.

[Andreyev] What specific consequences have there been?

[Soroka] Well, first of all there has been a decline in the self-critical attitudes of the Procuracy officials with regard to their activity. I think that now, when we are operating in conditions of broad openness, it is difficult for the Procuracy officials. It is no easy matter to be constantly checked by the public and by citizens. I think, however, that this has a favorable effect on all of the activity of the Procuracy bodies. We constantly feel the attention of public organizations and the press, radio, and television focused on us. Questions of the activity of the Procuracy bodies are of interest to the broad circles of the public. This permits us to coordinate corrections to our activity in light of critical remarks. I think that this is a favorable influence on the entire range of activities of the Procuracy bodies.

It is no secret that in the activity of the law enforcement organs, and in the life of our country as a whole, there were many deviations from Soviet laws.

[Andreyev] You say that there have been cases of violations. These were not faceless occurrences. Behind each occurrence there were people. What is your opinion and your assessment of the Procuracy cadres?

[Soroka] It must be said bluntly that at the end of the seventies and the beginning of the eighties there really were manifestations of the Procuracy bodies. Some of our Procuracy officials were unable to maintain principled positions, positions of the strictest observation of the laws. It must be said bluntly that they were put under a certain amount of pressure from certain leaders.

The closed nature of certain territories and certain departments that were beyond criticism created an atmosphere in which Procuracy supervision was unable to react to violations of the law. I will cite an example. What pressure on the procurators from narrow local and departmental interests led to can be seen from the events that took place in the early eighties in Uzbekistan. There we were up against really a whole system of deceiving the state and cooking the books in very important sectors of the national economy such as, for example, in the system of the Ministry of the Cotton Cleansing Industry--this ministry no longer exists. We set in motion a whole series of criminal cases and brought to criminal account many officials who had deceived the state, who had gained non-labor incomes. Of course, our Procuracy cadres needed courage, persistence, and high principles. Not all of them were prepared for this real struggle. We were obliged with many of them to simply fire them, to release them because they were unable to withstand narrow local and departmental interests. They were under the thumb of many leaders who put pressure on them.

[Andreyev] Experience has shown that many submit to pressure, persuasion. And so, in these new conditions, according to your observations, are there now no such manifestations or do they still exist?

[Soroka] Unfortunately, one still comes across them. I could cite the latest examples which we came up against literally last year. For example, in Biruni Rayon, Karakalpak ASSR, Bikinov, who is the chairman of the rayon consumer cooperative organization, last year, in order to fulfill the trade turnover plan falsely and dishonestly entered into the accounts considerable amounts which were fundamental to fulfilling plan. The procurator tried to act and initiated criminal proceedings. However, the leaders of that rayon in order, as it were, to defend the honor of the rayon forbade him to do this. Only thanks to the intervention of the procurator of the ASSR, Comrade Contsov, who informed the obkom and had these questions discussed in the obkom buro was raykom secretary (Kurbaniyazov), who interfered in the activity of the procurator and hindered the observation of the law, released from his post. Unfortunately, such cases are not unheard of even now.

[Andreyev] Probably a certain amount of time must pass for this to stabilize.

[Soroka] Quite so. Here is another example. In oktyabrskiy Rayon, Kalmyk ASSR, the procurator was waging a decisive struggle against those who were cooking the books and deceiving the state and he came up against opposition from the leaders of that rayon. Once again, intervention was required from the obkom in order to put this matter in order.

[Andreyev] Oleg Vasilyevich, what is being done in the system of Procuracy bodies to fulfill the decision of the party Central Committee on the need for a radical restructuring of the law enforcement organs?

[Soroka] Well, a year has passed since we began restructuring. This year has been a year of searching and consideration. It is not proving easy or simply to overcome the ossified and entrenched forms of work, methods of work, and approaches. Of course, restructuring is moving ahead at full speed in the Procuracy bodies and in the Procuracy system and it is picking up speed.

What do we see as the main elements? First of all, the Procuracy officials should be self-critical. Every day they should look self-critically at the actions and the work they are doing. That is the first thing. Second, the Procuracy officials should be imbued with the thought that the procurators are the basic and main guarantors of the law in all spheres of social life.

It is no secret that these manifestations of stagnation which we talked about at the beginning of the conversation were concerned mainly with the economy. It was precisely there that they were not clearly manifested. And what is the role of the Procuracy? It is clear that at that time the Procuracy officials did not make use of all their potential to combat these manifestations of stagnation and, most importantly, to prevent them. Therefore, we are now directing our officials to achieve results.

It must be admitted that a few years ago the quantitative approach to assessing the work of the Procuracy officials predominated. A large number of checks were carried out; often these were empty and unnecessary checks which did not lead to the expected results. Now we are directing our officials to ensure that every action by the Procuracy, every intervention by the Procuracy, should produce a result, should produce an effect. And this is not all. We must, first of all, discover and reveal violations of the law and, take measures against the violators. But this is not the main thing. The main thing is prevention; to remove the reasons and conditions which give rise to these violations of the law. We are directing our officials in this direction.

[Andreyev] Oleg Vasilyevich, do you not think that most of your efforts are aimed at stabilizing and normalizing the economic situation and are concerned with the operation of the law in the economic sphere.

[Soroka] Undoubtedly.

[Andreyev] But is this not to the detriment of other spheres? I would like to ask you why the law is not operating with regard to calling to account extortioners, those who persecute critics, and those who destroy historic and cultural monuments. Here we have three laws where hardly a single case is being tried or being brought by the Procuracy. Why is this, what is the reason for this?

[Soroka] Is it because there are no violations of these laws?

[Andreyev] Of course there are violations.

[Soroka] Every one of us comes into contact with extortion every day and we see it. I think that the trouble is that our local bodies have not taken up the effective legal action to combat these violations of the law. Extortion exists, there are violations of the law on preserving natural monuments and other questions. I think that this is the result of ossification in the work of our comrades who have not yet been permeated by the sense of the responsibility and importance of this work.

[Andreyev] I would like to say that during the period of stagnation which you also have mentioned there were people who voiced criticisms. These people were disliked and persecuted and many of them paid the price. It was unjust. That is one group of people. Another group of people are those who, sensing the openness, the development of openness and democratism in our society also began to voice criticisms; but vengeance is taken out on them for this and they are sacked and so on. There are two groups of people. What is your attitude to them? Do you help them to get rehabilitated and achieve justice?

[Soroka] I must say that the mail coming in to the Procuracy contains many such letters from which it is clear that there are still leaders who in retaliation for criticism are capable of sacking someone or infringing his rights and interests, transferring him to lower paid work and undertaking a whole range of other measures so as to oppress people and gain revenge.

[Andreyev] It seems to me that the Procuracy is not yet playing a sufficient role in this.

[Soroka] Undoubtedly. I quite agree with you. On this subject we have sent all procurators a special directive to implement this law; and in those cases where we establish that such things have happened they should not limit themselves to disciplinary and party measures but initiate criminal proceedings. The main thing, in the final analysis, is not the actual measure of punishment; what is important is to condemn such a person in the name of the law, to find him guilty. That is the main thing.

[Andreyev] What is the Procuracy's mail like? If we take 1986, how many letters did you receive?

[Soroka] Our mailbag is very large and varied. Last year the procuracy received 2.5 million letters, statements, proposals, and complaints from Soviet citizens. Some 1.5 million Soviet citizens were received personally. As you see, Procuracy officials have close daily contact with the broadest strata of the population.

[Andreyev] What proportion of your mail is made up of complaints?

[Soroka] Rather more than half. In the main people complain about the violation of labor and housing legislation. Unfortunately such things do happen. There are many letters about court decisions, on civil actions, and on court sentences. Each such complaint is most carefully reviewed and measures are taken which are then reported to the complainant.

[Andreyev] What is your opinion of the Procuracy's system of dealing with letters?

[Soroka] We are trying to have this work arranged in an ideal manner. And if you sit in our reception offices you will see that every day a large number of people come for a personal interview. I myself receive citizens every day. We try to show concern and sensitivity here, and, what is most important, we try to objectively investigate the questions put to us. Of course, there are cases of a lack of attention being shown, of superficial reviews of complaints. Such cases do happen. We are trying to combat them, and we very severely call to account those comrades who treat in this way people coming for interviews or sending in letters and complaints.

[Soroka] We are often dealing with citizens who are in some distress, who consider that some decision by the authorities is incorrect. And here it is important to display great concern and sensitivity toward this person and to give an explanation. Sometimes our officials do not have this tolerance toward citizens making complaints and statements.

Of course, we are unable to deal with all incoming mail. We send a considerable number of complaints and statements to the local area with special instructions, with special checks so that comrades will investigate on the spot, take the necessary steps, and report back to us.

[Andreyev] Oleg Vasilyevich, what if these complaints have already been addressed to the Procuracy. Are they sent there again?

[Soroka] This is not permitted. We try to adhere to the rule, and it is laid down in the law that if someone complains against an official the complaint or the statement is not sent to that official.

[Andreyev] Oleg Vasilyevich, recently we heard about instances in the activity of the Procuracy bodies which, to say the least, amazed us. In Krasnoyarsk Kray, the Kray Procuracy began to summon citizens who had sent complaints to the central press. They began to call them in in order to explain the circumstances and so on. In our opinion this is not in accord with the spirit of restructuring or of strengthening citizens' rights, because as you know any summons to the Procuracy is not a source of pleasure and is not a very pleasant invitation. We asked our correspondent Yuriy Sosnoy to investigate and to interview Kray Procuracy officials. He sent us the interview. Let us have a look at it and then you can give us your opinion.

[Begin video recording to interview with A.N. Trifokov, first deputy procurator of Krasnoyarsk Kray, by correspondent Sosnoy; identified by screen caption]

[Trifokov] The Procuracy officials here did not show any lack of tact or any rudeness.

[Sosnoy] Did you issue a summons for them to appear?



[Trifokov] Not at all. The Procuracy officials invited, for example, the Krasnoyarsk inhabitants Sashko, Udelin, and Yefimova by telephone. It was explained to them by telephone why they were being invited, and what explanations were required of them. It was also explained to them that if they did not wish or were unable to present themselves at the Procuracy, or come to the Procuracy, then we would not insist. These people came quite voluntarily. They also voluntarily gave explanations. [end recording]

[Soroka] I think that it is totally impermissible to summon the authors of letters and statements to the press who have made some criticism. In this case, judging from what we have seen, the rayon procurator and the officials of the kray procuracy should have carried out a careful investigation of all the violations of legality which were set out by the authors whose letters were sent to the press. The necessary measures should have been taken and the authors should have been informed of the measures taken.

[Andreyev] Oleg Vasilyevich, I am pleased that you share our point of view.

The next question: What do you think of the fact that the Procuracy both conducts the investigation and is also the body supervising it. This question was put to me by a group of investigators of the Moscow Procuracy.

[Andreyev] Please listen to this first and then give me your opinion.

[Begin video recording to Aleksandr Lvovich Shpeyer, investigator of particularly important cases; identified by screen captions] It is my opinion and I think everyone shares it, that, of course, the investigative authority, and the court authority should not be so closely tied up together or subordinated to the same leadership. They are quite independent and different systems which should work independently--in contact with each other but no more than that. That is, investigators should be independent with just vertical subordination and they should conduct the investigation. The supervision by the Procuracy should be implemented as it is now. The Procuracy now supervises investigations by internal affairs bodies. We are different organizations but the Procuracy supervises the militia investigators on the basis of the law on the Procuracy, whereas we, while they supervise us, are at the same time subordinate to the Procuracy. This is not right, of course. [end recording]

[Soroka] This is not the first time that this question has been raised. It has been discussed for many years. And we have a definite point of view on this.

[Andreyev] From the press and from viewers' letters it is well-known that some officials in the law enforcement bodies, including the Procuracy, also violate the law when carrying out their activities. How do you assess these instances and what measures are being taken by the leadership of the Procuracy to combat such instances?

[Soroka] Unfortunately, some violations of socialist legality do occur in the activity of the militia organs and the Procuracy and court bodies. These are widely reported in the press. The position of the USSR Procuracy on this is quite definite. We consider violations of legality to be impermissible in the activity of the investigative apparatus, the inquiry bodies, the militia organs, and the Procuracy bodies and we are taking steps to combat this. A whole complex of measures has been undertaken to totally exclude from the practice of the Procuracy bodies' activities and the investigative and inquiry bodies, any violations of legality and any deviations from the professional regime. And those officials who still commit any violations of legality we treat very severely.

[Andreyev] Thank you very much for the conversation. I wish success to you and all your officials. Thank you.

/9738

CSO: 1800/665

RSFSR JUSTICE MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON LEGAL REFORMS

LD171759 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 17 May 87

[Special program entitled "Human Rights, Real and Imaginary; interview with A.Ya. Sukharev, RSFSR minister of justice and president of the Association of Soviet Jurists, by commentator Boris Kondratov; date, place not given--recorded]

[Excerpts] [Kondratov] Aleksandr Yakovlevich, you recently took part in the sitting of the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva, and before that you visited Vienna, where the meeting of representatives of the participant countries in the Helsinki conference is being held. It would be interesting to know how the Western representatives are receiving the changes now taking place in our country?

[Sukharev] I would like to note that there is very great interest. Admittedly, there are various approaches to this interest, and perhaps even various objectives and various assessments. But literally all social strata, so to speak--listeners, readers, politicians, and public figures--are interested in what is happening in our country.

As representatives of the Association of Soviet Jurists, we naturally placed the accent on the democratization of legislation, which has already been put into effect in legal work practice, and on the prospects lying ahead for perfecting the process of state and legal construction.

Of course, the dialogue also touched on observance of human rights--a very important aspect, particularly since, as we all know, it is whipped up and, I would say, certain themes advantageous for the Western mass media are exploited. When answering questions--and I would like to emphasize this--we told our counterparts that the restructuring, including that in legal life, and the further consolidation of the principles of social justice, legality, and order are matters that our country, our society, and our people decide for themselves. They are organic components of democracy and acceleration, and it is in this way that we should regard the stepping-up of attention devoted to expanding rights and freedoms in the Soviet Union and to enriching the individual's legal status.

However--and I would like to emphasize this once again--we stated bluntly that this does not in the least signify that we are carrying out this work on anyone's prompting, or even because of any kind of well-wishing on the part of the West. It is a natural process in the development of our society; it is the stage of development that is dictated by the need for the utmost expansion of democracy as a process for accelerating and a process for restructuring all aspects of life in our society.

[Kondratov] Aleksandr Yakovlevich, obviously they were also interested in the restructuring as it applies to the legal sphere, that which is closest to you as minister of justice.

[Sukharev] Yes, you are quite right. Of course, we did not conceal the fact, but told our western counterparts that if the Western public is impressed, so to speak, by what is taking place in our country, then we, so to speak, welcome this. As a result we can understand each other better and come to agreements, particularly in our troubled age.

At the same time, we told them that the principles underpinning our legal system and that of the bourgeois world are unquestionably different. We have our own, socialist, legal conception of individual rights and freedoms. Different social and political systems mean different legal institutions. However, we live on the same planet and must learn not merely to coexist, but to live in peace, cooperate, and exchange the values of civilization. Consequently, it is a question of the new thinking, without which it is difficult to form a realistic view in the nuclear age.

You asked about there being particular interest, since we are lawyers, in the changes in legislation, in law application practices, in measures connected with raising our society's legal culture, and in what we refer to by the broad concept of the country's legal life. Yes, one might say, that that was one of the main and fundamental issues on which we held an intensive and fairly broad exchange of views.

[Kondratov] Aleksandr Yakovlevich, many listeners are asking what the reason is for the continuing campaign of attacks in the West against the Soviet Union in the sphere of human rights?

[Sukharev] Well, I must give the following answer to your question--a difficult question, which cannot be answered in simple terms. I shall begin by saying that, in Vienna, I read a report by the U.S. State Department on the situation in the sphere of human rights in 1986. That document contains nothing new--the same old standard collection of accusations--and it is immediately clear to the naked eye, as they say, that the aim of the report is to attempt to stir up enmity toward real socialism as a system, and to maintain the political and military tension in U.S.-Soviet relations. Right-wing forces in the United States--and I think that it is precisely the views of those forces that are reflected in that document--do not like the positive changes now taking place in Soviet society. They know about these changes, but, unfortunately, are sparing no effort, as they say, to undermine and vilify our system.

The second point--a very important one which I would like to stress--is that the attacks against our country and the other socialist countries have a propaganda aim, the essence of which lies in deflecting the attention of the public--not least the American public--from the gross and mass human rights violations in the West and in the United States itself.

[Kondratov] Aleksandr Yakovlevich, next there is the question of political prisoners--in quotation marks--in the USSR. This term is widely used in the West. Could you elucidate the situation as it stands today?

[Sukharev] Well, you well know, and our citizens know, that there is no such term or corpus delicti as political in our legislation. Here we have no analogy with the legislation of Western countries.

[Kondratov] Aleksandr Yakovlevich, to come back to our own legislation and Article 70 of the Constitution--it does have, all the same, a political slant, doesn't it?

[Sukharev] Well, I have to say that of course it does, because it is a question of defending and protecting our system, which they are attempting to undermine in various methods and forms. In the present case, we are talking about propaganda and agitation aimed at undermining and weakening our social and political system. However, this has nothing in common with Western propaganda claims that in the USSR people are, allegedly--and I would like to stress this--arrested for dissent, for convictions of criticism of the authorities. These claims are absurd, if not deliberately mendacious.

Indeed, sometimes one has to ask oneself whether there is anywhere in the West a leader who would speak about his party and about his country's social processes as openly, profoundly, and frankly as did Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at the 27th CPSU Congress, at the April 1985 Central Committee Plenum, and at the January Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

Incidentally, I would like to draw attention to the following point as well: If we look closely at the activities of people who the West claims have been sentenced for dissent, we are immediately struck by two features of these activities. First is the link between most of these people and anti-Soviet circles abroad, in particular, with the People's Labor Alliance (NTS), which makes no secret of its main objective to combat Soviet power. That is the first feature. Or, I would like to stress this as well, contacts with foreign intelligence centers--receiving instructions and handouts from them, etc. The second feature is the uproar that is immediately set off, as if by command, in the West.

[Kondratov] Let's recall the Shcharanskiy case, for example.

[Sukharev] Quite correct. After all, it was proven beyond doubt, on the basis of testimony from witnesses and his own admissions, that he engaged in espionage. But when he sensed that he would have to answer for that, he cooked up the dissent story, which they began exaggerating in the West. But let us

be frank: Of course he was an anti-Sovieteer, of course he was involved in anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation, but first and foremost he was a spy. And that is what he was punished for, that above all.

[Kondratov] You said that the policy of democratizing and humanizing the legislation and its application is concordant with demands for reinforcing legality. Does not the one contradict the other, however--democratization and humanization on the one hand, and demands for reinforcing legality on the other?

[Sukharev] I would like to say once again that when we speak about making punishments to some extent more severe, then we are talking about intensifying the campaign against different negative manifestations and particularly against crime, and we are talking about intensifying it across the whole front, exerting an influence via criminal and administrative procedures in places where this influence is essential, and, of course, by exerting social influence. But there is no contradiction between the course toward democratization and humanization and the requirement, so to speak, for lawfulness to be strengthened.

Why? Because our party views the further consolidation of the legal foundation of state and public life as one of the key directions of the further improvement of socialist democracy. Democracy, discipline, and lawfulness in organic unity constitute the main path of our society's development, of acceleration and restructuring. Genuine democracy, and the restructuring that is currently taking place in our society, in essence amounts to the development of this unity. Genuine democracy does not exist outside the law or above the law as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has stressed; it presupposes a combination of initiative, independence, innovative quest, the extension of people's rights both in the social sphere and in the production sphere--that is on the one hand. On the other hand our society is a planned society; our society is a socialist society. What is required here is sound organization and smooth running in all links of the economic and social organism. What is required is a higher level of discipline and responsibility and the strict fulfillment of his duties by every official and by every citizen of our country. This process, therefore, is an organic one, so to speak. It stems from the very essence of restructuring; it is the servicing mechanism of restructuring. This work is therefore being carried out, I would say, in many directions. We are talking about raising the role and the monitoring functions of the representative bodies of our state power, primarily the soviets and their executive bodies. We are talking about expanding the rights and raising the responsibility of the labor collectives, of public organizations, and of citizens. We are talking about taking expanding the rights and raising the responsibility of the labor collectives, of public organizations, and of citizens. We are talking about taking public opinion carefully into consideration, and of course about extending openness [glasnost] and we see how our laws and the party's line on openness are being implemented in the activity of state, party, and other organizations.

Of course this is expressed and is being implemented in the vast standards-setting program that is now being carried out successfully. You know that legislative documents are being published that are directed toward improving the mechanisms relating to the whole people and the state. The activity of the soviets and of the apparatuses of government, of people's control, of justice, and of the prosecution service is being regulated more precisely. The concern of the party and the Soviet state for raising the well-being of the working people has been broadly consolidated. You know that today the social sphere has virtually come into the foreground. Make no bones about it, there was a time when its importance was underestimated, and this line of the party has received legislative consolidation.

[Kondratov] Can we take the election campaign that is now taking place in the country?

[Sukharev] Certainly. Substantial changes are being made, I would say, to our state's electoral mechanism. But, first and foremost, preparations are now in hand for a law governing the procedure for discussion and voting by the whole people on major issues in life, and also discussion by the population of draft decisions of the local soviets.

But changes--and fairly substantial changes--are already being made to the election mechanism. For example, during the elections to the local soviets, which you and I are due to take part in on 21 June, we are going to be voting for several candidates in approximately 4,000 multiseat constituencies, not for one candidate to the local soviet of people's deputies. This is a substantial change. It is the first time that this experiment is going to be carried out in our country, during this election campaign.

A draft law on procedures for appealing in the court against illegal actions by officials that infringe upon citizens' rights is already completed. This, too, is a very important matter connected with the development of democratism, the strengthening of legality, and raising the responsibility of officials. This goes hand in hand with the course toward democratization and humanization and at the same time it serves the cause of strengthening legality.

[Kondratov] Aleksandr Yakovlevich, the foundation of life in our society is production, it is labor, the enterprise. How in fact is democracy being implemented in production? What can be said in this connection?

[Sukharev] First of all I would like to stress that normative documents are now being worked out that provide for raising the role of the meeting of workers and office staff and for extending the circle of issues on which the decisions of the labor collectives will be final. They deal with the setting up at enterprise level of councils of labor collectives and the gradual expansion of the appointment of managers by election, which is already being increasingly applied.

We read about this in the newspapers and we know from practical experience that the go ahead has been given in this direction. But I have to say outright that many questions in the field of production democracy are going to be solved in a radical way in the law on the socialist enterprise. As we know, this has now been put forward for discussion by the whole people and is in the stage where the preparation of this law is being completed. Very many observations and proposals have been received and of course these are being taken carefully into consideration. The law, as a supreme, so to speak, normative document of the state, will codify in law the line toward the deep restructuring of the management system, the development of democratic initiatives, raising socialist enterprise and the responsibility of the labor collectives, and--what is most important--activating the human factor. Other normative documents are also being prepared, although I will say directly that the law on labor collectives has already been in operation for a long time.

[Kondratov] Yes, though there are still some substantial shortcomings in the application of this law.

[Sukharev] Absolutely. Life has shown that there are many gaps in this law and indeed the normative documents I have been speaking about, and especially the Law on the Socialist Enterprise, will, indeed, be the main law deciding issues pertaining to production democracy.

[Kondratov] Given that I am talking to the minister of justice I cannot fail to ask the following question. Do you not feel that change is also needed in the administration of justice? For democratization has to affect all areas of our life.

[Sukharev] You are right. We jurists naturally do not believe ourselves to be outside restructuring, outside change. This affects the administration of justice, too. But what am I thinking of above all? We have to raise the role of the people's assessors. They are the truly genuine representatives of the people. There are about 800,000 people's assessors. They bring the wisdom of the people, experience of life, and fairness. I will say directly that much is going to depend upon the level of the work of the representatives of the people in the courts as far as the level of the socialist administration of justice itself is concerned, the standard of justice, its accessibility, the understanding, so to speak, of the aims and the tasks of justice by the broad masses of our country's working people.

Your question, therefore, is a sound one. The election of people's assessors, one can say, is already in full swing throughout our country, and on 21 June we start to elect the people's judges of the rayon and city courts. The forthcoming elections, and this is something we can see even now from the meetings and the report-back meetings which are taking place in the labor collectives, are going to be a serious test of our ability to work under conditions in which democracy is being extended, under conditions of restructuring. The results of these elections, the first under conditions of restructuring, will to a large extent determine whether Soviet justice achieves a qualitatively new level.



Indeed, there are a lot of complaints, and frankly speaking they are justified complaints. We are talking about red tape, and I would say the infringement in some courts of the rights of Soviet people. These illegal decisions have to be put right at a later stage, and this sometimes involves material expenditure and serious moral cost. These are very serious issues. Although for the sake of fairness it has to be noted that 98 percent of civil cases and more than 96 percent of criminal cases in our country are decided correctly by courts of first instance, that is to say by rayon and city courts, and they are recognized as being legal and well-founded, nevertheless we have to struggle to ensure that every verdict and every decision is a correct one. Because behind each such case there is the fate of a person.

Sometimes it's said that when you read the newspapers you reach the conclusion that we have started to have more infringements of legality in our country. We are able to say with complete responsibility and complete competence that there are far fewer cases of violations. So what is happening then? What is happening is that there is a tougher attitude toward these violations first and foremost by our party, by the broad public, and naturally we workers in justice and in the courts have to react in an appropriate way, we have to introduce order, we have to educate our judges and all those who work in the field of justice, so that they really do serve as a model of the correct attitude toward socialist legality and the rights and freedoms of our people.

Unfortunately we still receive a lot of complaints about heartlessness and red tape particularly where alimony actions are concerned. Behind these complaints are the anxiety and unhappiness of women on their own; there is material deprivation in which small children are sometimes involved. Let me say outright that last year a particularly large number of complaints came in from the Amur, Chita, and Irkutsk Oblasts. We are doing all we can to take resolute measures to remove this callousness and lack of feeling. We demand seriously of those who are working in the localities that these issues be decided quickly, promptly, and correctly in every court, without waiting for staff of the law enforcement agencies to go into action from Moscow, to say nothing of party or local soviet bodies.

In general terms the days of privileged areas as far as criticism is concerned are over and we are educating our cadres in that spirit. It is essential for every issue to be decided more promptly and justly, every issue that falls within the purview of the justice worker and particularly the court worker.

[Kondratov] And it must be decided locally, without overloading the central bodies?

[Sukharev] Yes, that is quite right. Very many letters and complaints are received by the central organs that could undoubtedly be solved promptly and correctly on the spot.

[Kondratov] Aleksandr Yakovlevich, we are talking about the court, but clearly not every case has to go to court and here a great deal depends upon the legal literacy of officials and managers of enterprises. How many labor actions could be avoided?

[Sukharev] Yes, you are absolutely right. Everything must indeed be done to ensure that fewer cases are taken to court, and of course we must all count upon achieving such a result, given correct functioning both of the state and the economic apparatus. Why, indeed, in the Ivanovo Oblast are there only isolated cases in which the court intervenes in the settlement of labor conflicts, isolated cases of incorrect dismissals from work? Because the leaders are brought strictly to account, they are taught the legislation, including the legislation dealing with economic and labor affairs, because great attention is paid to this by the party, the local soviet and economic organizations, and by officials. Whereas in some places in our country up to 40 and 50 percent of individuals who have resorted to court action to protect their rights are reinstated in their jobs. These people suffer material damage, as I have already said, and also considerable moral damage, and legality is violated.

Now, in connection with the fact that the law covering appeals against illegal actions by officials is going to be adopted in the very near future, I think that this law is going to provide all our cadres--those in the administration of justice, those in the economy, and those in the local soviets--with an incentive for observing more strictly the laws that deal with all the rights and freedoms of our citizens. It opens up additional possibilities for ensuring the constitutional rights of the Soviet person.

But you are right: What is important here is not just stepping up the level of exactingness, we have to introduce a system of juridical education for our cadres, and that work has already begun. As far as the Russian Federation is concerned, a system of universal legal education has already been instituted in 48 krais and oblasts. In a number of places I consider that they have been perfectly right in introducing for economic managers certification of their knowledge of the basic provisions of the law, particularly the law relating to labor, economic, and administrative matters, which are used by our managers in so far as they have entrusted to them the fate of people, material values, and the labor collectives.

In a word, we are living at a time that is very interesting and that is full of events. We are working for the law, for order, and for social justice. But time does not get on with its work automatically. In this respect each individual, each citizen of our country has opening up before him a wide field for activity. Each Soviet person can and must be an active participant in restructuring, including restructuring in the area of justice.

[Kondratov] Thank you for taking part in the program, Aleksandr Yakovlevich.

/9738

CSO: 1800/666

RSFSR DAILY INTERVIEWS CRIMINOLOGIST I. KARPETS

PM201025 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 May 87 First Edition p 4

[Interview with Doctor of Juridical Sciences, Professor I.I. Karpets by TASS correspondents V. Itkin and L. Chernenko under the rubric "TASS for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA": "There Is No Democracy Outside the Law"--first graf is SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA introduction, place and date of interview not given]

[Text] Life is posing legal workers many questions of utmost urgency. Two TASS correspondents met the well-known Soviet lawyer, Doctor of Juridical Sciences, Professor Igor Ivanovich Karpets, director of the All-Union Research Institute for the Study of the Causes of Crime and Elaboration of Crime Prevention Measures attached to the USSR Prosecutor's Office, and asked him to answer a number of questions:

[Itkin/Chernenko] Prevention is the main avenue of combating crime in socialist society. How is this work proceeding now in the conditions of openness and development of democracy?

[Karpets] Efforts to improve the legal basis of state and social life, reinforce discipline and organization in every way, and resolutely overcome antisocial phenomena are one of the main aspects of restructuring. M.S. Gorbachev has emphasized more than once that true democracy does not exist outside or above the law, that legality and social justice must become firmly established in our society.

During a certain period, the underlying links between legality and democracy were underestimated, and problems which had come to a head were not given the necessary attention. That became one of the main causes of the development of the phenomena of stagnation which were exposed at the 27th CPSU Congress. The comprehensive measures for the moral improvement of society adopted in our country after the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum have begun to bear fruit in the legal sphere too. In 1986 the overall number of crimes decreased, and dangerous crimes such as premeditated murder, grievous bodily harm, robbery, theft, and rape decreased by 20-30 percent. This convincingly testifies to socialism's real potential for successfully combating crime. However, a fundamental breakthrough has still not been achieved. This indicates that so far we have failed to exploit the society's entire vast potential for active crime prevention work.

The party has set the law enforcement bodies great and responsible tasks. They must learn to work in conditions of openness and democracy, constantly improve the style and methods of their work, and considerably enhance the results of their work.

[Itkin/Chernenko] We often had to report all kinds of unlawful actions in the press, and somehow we were very coy about using the word "crime" in our articles, using words like "law infringement," "antisocial phenomena," and so forth instead...

[Karpets] The demand now is for calling a spade a spade. Replacing the word "crime" with synonyms, did not mean, of course, that it did not exist in the life of our society. In my view it only caused a certain amount of damage. For a long time, the overoptimistic view prevailed that in conditions of socialism it is relatively easy to overcome crime which would steadily decrease and become less socially dangerous. For the sake of objectivity it must be noted that the preconditions for this unquestionably existed. However, we should have also focused our attention on other processes which themselves led to the development of crimes and made their nature more complex and sometimes also more dangerous. We should have resolutely focused our attention much earlier on the deterioration of the economic situation and the degradation of a certain category of people and we should have analyzed at greater depth the shortcomings in the social sphere and in educational work.

Taking an overall view of crime in our country, we must admit that besides the reduction in the number of violent crimes--brought about by the tremendous work carried out by the party in the struggle for a sober way of life, reinforcement of discipline and legality, and enhancement of the responsibility of each individual--there has been an increase in the number of crimes for personal gain. An aggravating circumstance is that sometimes "top echelon" economic managers and other leaders are involved in this type of crime which is particularly dangerous.

[Itkin/Chernenko] Igor Ivanovich, you have done a lot of practical work, you worked as a prosecution office investigator and for a long time you headed the Criminal Investigation Department of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. How, in your view, can criminology help in dealing with crime in practice?

[Karpets] The problem of the connection between the economic situation and crime must be studied at greater depth. It is necessary to investigate the specific characteristics of crimes such as embezzlement and overreporting in various national economic sectors. This problem must be studied not only in the narrow legal sense, as it were, but also in the context of shortcomings in the economic mechanism.

In this connection I would like to dwell on an investigation of the causes of embezzlement and other abuses in various national economic sectors. Our institute carried out such an investigation together with the USSR Prosecutor's Office at the Avtovaz. Scientists carried out an in-depth study of the production system and exposed critical areas which provided great scope for

misappropriation. In addition the system of safekeeping of finished output and the system of official responsibility for the safekeeping of property were analyzed. The results proved extremely useful. A plan of measures to prevent misappropriations has now been drawn up and its implementation is being monitored. And the result has been: During the 2 years since the investigation the number of misappropriations has been halved.

The idea of carrying out studies of individual industrial sectors has proved very fruitful from the viewpoint of crime prevention and we will continue this policy. Thus last year the safekeeping of raw materials and materials in the jewelry industry was studied. The results obtained reflect the sorry state of affairs in this sector. The implementation of the package of measures proposed by scientists could save the state many thousands of rubles.

[Itkin/Chernenko] Igor Ivanovich, in recent years the number of cases dealt with by the prosecutor's office, the courts, and MVD investigation organs of the USSR and union republics in which the central figure of the crime is an economic manager has increased. In this category there are people who commit crimes to enhance the prestige of their enterprise, region, and so forth, rather than for personal gain. What is the interest for criminology in this category of crime?

[Karpets] The attitude to property is shaped above all by the actual circumstances in which a person is placed. In studying the causes of crimes we must consider carefully who we are dealing with: Are we dealing with a person who makes free with public assets, a speculator, or a moneygrubber, or an economic manager who has been placed in extremely difficult circumstances? The humane task of our science is to clarify all this. This also provides the basis for a radical improvement of the study of the problem of the connection between economic relations and the crime rate. However, it is also obvious that the analysis of the new stage in economic relations must go hand in hand with the improvement of legislation, and primarily economic legislation. In turn, an investigation of a person who has committed a crime of abuse of office must be linked with an investigation of the shortcomings of the economic mechanism.

Our science must seek the most effective methods of reforming and reeducating criminals. Our human factor is a special one. But it is human. In these studies too we must overcome the shortcomings of the past. To put it bluntly--the standard of discussions and studies pertaining to questions of the character of people who break the law is not high enough.

[Itkin/Chernenko] Speaking about character and the human factor, what can you say about a phenomenon such as juvenile delinquency?

[Karpets] New trends are clearly visible in this sphere of crime. The influence of adult criminals on juvenile delinquents, especially those who commit crimes for personal gain, is becoming more obvious. And not just of criminals but of advocates of private property, individualism, and total license. The number of crimes committed by juvenile delinquents in our country is decreasing, but it is violent crimes rather than crimes for personal gain.

We must not close our eyes to the fact that there are flareups of specific types of violence on the part of groups of juveniles who are trying to copy the worst Western examples. Nor must we ignore the increase of drug addiction among young people. Therefore the problem of an in-depth study of the phenomena among young people which come close to the violation of public order and criminal behavior must be at the focus of attention of legal experts.

/9738

CSO: 1800/663

IZVESTIYA REPORTS MVD BRIEFING ON CADRES

PM271145 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 May 87 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by G. Alimov: "Briefing at USSR MVD"]

[Text] A briefing for journalists was held 26 May at the USSR MVD on the progress of cadres restructuring in the internal affairs organs. These meetings are becoming regular. They are a manifestation of the new work style which is being increasingly asserted at the ministry.

The representatives of the press were addressed by A. Anikiyev, chief of the USSR MVD Main Cadres Administration, and N. Frolov, deputy chief of the Political Directorate.

"The entire personnel of the internal affairs organs," A. Anikiyev reported, "is not restructuring work in order to learn in the best way to act under the conditions of the democratization of society and openness. A painful and complex process. It places a high degree of responsibility on each person and makes special demands on staffers' professional training.

It was also announced at the briefing that a big replacement of personnel cadres has taken place within the MVD system. In the past 5 years about 10,000 staffers have been dismissed from the organs for various violations of socialist legality and discipline. The concealing of crimes was a fairly widespread phenomenon. As a result people lost the confidence that anything could be achieved from the internal affairs organs. All this is now being resolutely eradicated. The personnel's full certification is also aimed at this. Its aim is to strengthen the internal affairs organs and to get rid of ballast.

How is the state of affairs changing? And is it changing at all? Positive trends have emerged. The moral and psychological climate is becoming completely different. The stabilization of cadres has begun--in 1986 turnover was reduced 9.2 percent and dismissals from the internal affairs organs in the first year of service were reduced 11.2 percent. Some 25.7 percent fewer violations of socialist legality by the personnel have been recorded and the concealment of crimes has dropped 40.6 percent. Understaffing is gradually being reduced--from 4.2 to 2.4 percent.

The briefing also stressed that there are still many problems which have accumulated over the decades. Purposeful and vigorous work is under way on the solution of each of these problems.

PRAVDA REPORTS ON ROUTINE OF BORDER GUARD LIFE

PM050809 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 May 87 Second Edition p 6

[P. Studenikin report: "Breath of the Patrol Path"; passages between slant-lines published in boldface]

[Excerpts] Moscow--The USSR state border stretches for tens of thousands of kilometers around Ratmanova Island, the Kola Peninsula, Chop and Kushak, the Pamir and Tyan Shan mountains, Sakhalin and Kamchatka. And border guard servicemen reliably guard every single meter.

In 20 years' work for the newspaper I have visited practically all sectors of the state border--from the Kola Peninsula to Ratmanova Island, 4 km from the United States. But only here, on Dzerzhinskaya Square in Moscow, in the office of the USSR KGB Border Guards operational duty officer, looking at an unusual map covering the whole wall, did I suddenly sharply feel the "breathing" of the motherland's patrol path.

With Col V. Lituchiy, the office's incumbent, I carried out a sort of unusual "journey" on the map.

The western section of the border. We cannot forget the terrible year of 1941, when Soviet border guards here, on a front extending from the Black Sea to the Barents Sea, were the first to encounter the fascist hordes. Nor can we forget the days when the red and green tetrahedrons bearing the USSR state coat of arms were once again set in their former places.

After the war the western border became peaceful and good-neighborly. Now the border here is with socialist community countries. It has lost the significance of a frontier separating two social systems, but has retained its significance as a line defining the limits of the territory and state sovereignty of contiguous countries. This means that the rhythm and order of border service are observed here as strictly and rigorously as anywhere else...

"No incidents among the troops or on the border"--my "day on the border" began on Dzerzhinskaya Square with these words from a report by the operational duty officer to Army General V. Matrosov, chief of the USSR KGB Border Guards. These words subsequently prefaced each report from the border districts to the



center. But here is what "no incidents" means. Lt Col V. Lituchiy made dozens of notes in the duty officer's log over the preceding 24 hours from which you can clearly perceive the border's pulse. I will cite some of them.

/FROM THE CENTRAL ASIAN BORDER DISTRICT: "Eight border violators from the DRA have been detained on Amu Darya Islands in the Termez area. An investigation is being conducted."

FROM THE TRANSBAYKAL BORDER DISTRICT: "At 0317 hours (local time) in... [PRAVDA ellipses] section the tracks of a man heading toward the interior were detected on the security strip. The violator was detained in the course of a search."

FROM THE TDANSCAUCASUS BORDER DISTRICT: "At 1621 hours the overflight of an Iranian transport aircraft in the sector covered by border post No. ... [PRAVDA ellipses] was determined by border detachments from aircraft noise, and at 1624 they visually recorded the flight of a twin-engine transport aircraft."

FROM PETROPAVLOVSK-KAMCHATKA: "At 1026 hours the U.S. nuclear-powered cruiser 'Arkansas' appeared at the edge of our territorial waters. The cruiser is sailing the shore of Avachinskiy Bay. The border patrol ship 'Dzerzhinskiy' intercepted it and demanded that it leave Soviet territorial waters."/

The Kamchatka border guards vigilantly watched the behavior of the uninvited guest. The operational service of the Main Directorate of Border Guard Troops kept the passage of the "Arkansas" under unrelenting surveillance.

Everyone still remembers the unprecedented event which occurred on 13 March last year, when the U.S. missile cruiser "Yorktown" and the destroyer "Caron" violated the USSR state border in the Black Sea, off the southern coast of the Crimea. Then our seamen demonstrated both patience and restraint. Now history has repeated itself: The U.S. nuclear-powered missile cruiser "Arkansas" twice violated our country's state border in the region of Avachinskiy Bay--an area of water off Petropavlovsk-Kamchatka. Such actions can only be regarded as premeditated provocation, undertaken in overt breach of the USSR laws and regulations relating to Soviet territorial waters.

/FROM DUSHANBE: "In the area of the village of Sarazh a border detachment has detained two unidentified persons attempting to violate the border. When they were detained the violators dropped a bag containing narcotics (20 kg), 3 submachineguns, and magazines with cartridges..."/

"The protection of the sea's natural wealth is a comparatively new task for the border guards," V. Lituchiy says. "Ten years ago the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree 'On Temporary Measures To Preserve Living Resources and Regulate Fishing in Sea Regions Adjoining the USSR Coast' established new rules for using the sea's wealth. In these regions within the limits of a 200-mile zone fishing by foreign ships is permitted only on the basis of agreements with our state. The border guards, together with fishery protection organs, look after the wealth of our seas and rivers and also assist the

rotection of the natural wealth of the continental shelf. It is a honorable duty, and border guards cope with it well."

I have read somewhere that at the front G.K. Zhukov once reprimanded his cipher clerk, who had received an urgent coded cable late one night and had hurried to report it to the marshal. No, he was not reprimanded for getting the marshal out of bed late at night, but because the telegram, although it was marked "by air," could quite easily have waited until morning.

Such situations do arise in our country occasionally: All the services must be "roused from their beds" late at night. The operational duty officer must be able to analyze the situation quickly and correctly--for it is a question of our country's security. It is necessary to know the troops and the border well. But you know what the border is like: more than 47,000 km through sea, rivers, and lakes, nearly 20,000 km on land. A mass of equipment, a whole collection of climatic peculiarities, and dozens of neighboring state which hundreds of thousands of people travel to and from... And all the information pours into this office...

Late in the evening, when the stormy life of the capital is gradually dying down outside the window, the situation here becomes even busier: The telephones now ring almost incessantly--three adolescents who, though they do not even have passports yet, had decided to go to some event in Poland and four 15-year-olds from Romania who had set out on a "brave journey" to mysterious India have been detained on the western border; eight violators have been detained on the Afghan and the Iranian border; at "Pulkovo" Airport during the examination of passengers on flight 232 from Belgium, 7,933 copies of NTS [People's Labor Alliance] leaflets were found and confiscated from Geveyeta Markel [name as published] of Brussels; at the "Vyborg" checkpoint two tourists whose cars contained secret compartments stuffed with anti-Soviet articles and books have been detained...

"The Soviet Union," Lt Col G. Bakach, chief of the Checkpoints Department, whom I met after he came off duty, said, "is doing much to bring the peoples of Europe closer together, particularly in the sphere of developing international tourism. Millions of people cross our borders. Unfortunately, often intelligence agents try to infiltrate our country in the guise of tourists in order to perform espionage and ideological subversion work..."

Yes, our international links are strengthening and expanding. For example, nearly 1 million foreign tourists and nearly 800,000 cars from 126 countries of the world pass through the "Vyborg" checkpoint alone every year. And what sophisticated methods and means of breaching the rules and laws our border guards encounter! Last year alone several hundreds of thousands of copies of ideologically harmful literature and contraband worth several million rubles were confiscated...

...Over Moscow the soft spring dawn is breaking. The capital is lovely at this hour! The city is still sleeping. The operational duty officer receives telephone reports from the border districts, which invariably begin with the words: "...no incidents among the troops and on the border." Let it always be thus, so that the form of this report never changes, as it did for example on 22 June 1941.

/9738

CSO: 1800/663

MILITIAMEN DISCIPLINED OVER AUTO THEFT

PM081507 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 May 87 p 13

[Unattributed article under the rubric "Response": "'Lady With Lapdog But Without Car!'" ]

[Text] Our readers are adding to what is very much a detective story, but also downright disgraceful.

Our New Year issue published a detective story about a car's misadventures and its owner's tribulations (L. Grafova, "Lady With Lapdog But Without Car," LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 1 January 1987). The car had been stolen and later found. It was found by the owner herself, and had been stolen--as it turned out--by militia staffers. Then, while the investigation and trial were taking their course, other militia staffers looked after the "material evidence" so diligently that the car turned into a heap of decaying metal. Throughout this time the owner persistently exchanged letters with militia and prosecution organs.

We thought that, in publishing this article, we were telling an almost unbelievable story, but it brought numerous responses, and, strange though it may seem, a number of letters open with the sentence: "Something similar also happened to me..." We deemed it necessary to send these letters on to the USSR MVD, but we had our doubts: Are our readers not laying it on a bit too thick? It proved that our doubts were groundless. The Ministry has investigated each of these letters, and admitted unreservedly: "The facts as stated have been confirmed." The USSR MVD also considers that the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA piece was "fair and justified."

S. Balashov, chief of the Moscow Gorispolkom's City Internal Affairs Administration, writes:

"...Because of their irresponsible attitude toward obeying Prosecutor's Office instructions... Militia Colonel S. Ye. Samokhvalov, deputy chief of the Sverdlovskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Administration, (he had been chief of the No. 17 Militia Department and now, as we can see, has been promoted--editorial office note) and Militia Major A.P. Barysh, chief of the No. 15 Militia Administration, have been severally reprimanded. Militia Captains Yu.A. Kochetkov and A.S. Shlyapnikov have been reprimanded, bearing in mind the

fact that, because of omissions in their work, they had been earlier relieved of their duties as deputy chiefs of the No. 15 and No. 17 Militia Departments. By virtue of the same order, Comrades Samokhvalov, Barysh, Kochetkov, and Shlyapnikov have had 1 month's salary withheld by way of partial reimbursement of the material damage caused to the City Internal Affairs Administration."

Bearing in mind that the court recovered R5,286 from the City Internal Affairs Administration in favor of complainant Ye.N. Basilova (she was, after all, left without a car), four monthly salaries, even at senior level, do not go very far toward reimbursing the damage caused to the state. True enough, when you recall that, until the article's publication, some operations officer was identified as the sole culprit in the disgraceful events, this fine and the four reprimands (two of them severe) do constitute some form of punishment.

N. Demidov, USSR deputy minister of internal affairs, adds to the reply by the City Internal Affairs Administration:

"...N. Danilov and B. Gabidulin, external security militiamen under the Sverdlovskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Administration, who took the care, have been sentenced to 4 years' imprisonment, while their former chief Yu.V. Butusov and N.N. Sorokin, deputy divisional commander for political matters, have been reprimanded and M.M. Golovachev, deputy chief of this subdivision, has been warned that he does not fully meet the requirements of his office.

Now for the letters. Our readers will be able to see that the measures taken in response to the letters were more decisive than those taken in response to the newspaper article (a curious paradox, by the way).

As a result of an inspection following a letter from Muscovite R.A. Lebedeva (her new "Zhiguli" was stolen on the banks of the Oka River, its gutted body was found by the militia in the Taruskiy Forest 2 days later, but the case instituted by Serpukhovskiy Internal Affairs Department was discontinued), Ye.V. Ospelnikov, chief of the Serpukhovskiy Internal Affairs Department Investigations Department, was warned that he does not fully meet the requirements of his office, while B.A. Patrov, operations officer at the No. 1 Militia Department under the same Internal Affairs Department, was given a serious warning.

Following an inspection resulting from A.S. Shchedrin's letter (his "Moskvich," parked on the Yaroslavskoye Highway overnight, had mysteriously vanished the next morning--it was established that State Automobile Inspectorate staffers had towed it away to the Militia Department and spare parts worth R500 had disappeared from the car), V.Yu. Ivanov, deputy chief of Moscow's No. 106 Militia Department has been removed from office.

Following an inspection resulting from R.A. Mravyan's letter (the criminal case concerning the loss of his car was instituted almost 1 month after the event and the car has simply vanished), A.I. Kostenko, investigating inspector at Moscow's No. 64 Militia Department, has been reprimanded.

V.N. Mayorov, chief of that same No. 64 Militia Department, and his deputy A.N. Davidchuk have been removed from office and demoted, while Operations Officer V.L. Kirillov has been dismissed from internal affairs organs.

These last measures have been taken in response to a letter from another Muscovite K.K. Asvadurov.

Really severe measures, but the case--as Asvadurov himself admits--"is in no way comparable with the tribulations of the article's heroine." It was not a car, but just a battery that was stolen from him.

"...I know from the sad experiences of my acquaintances and of their acquaintances that our wheels, mirrors, and batteries vanish without trace. The militia does not seriously try to trace them..." A casually encountered militiaman-neighbor advised Asvadurov to act stubbornly "so that people in the militia realize that you won't give up." The only thing the car owner gained through his stubbornness was a case report on the loss, which enabled him to buy a battery without having to wait for his turn.

But a case was instituted nevertheless. Approximately a year later, Asvadurov was called in by V.V. Ulybin, investigator at Sverdlovskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Administration. Purely as a matter of form. And that was the end of it all.

It is interesting that the letter mentions a name familiar from the article. After all, the case of "the lady with the lapdog" was opened by that very same Investigator Ulybin, but his name is not mentioned in a single one of the official replies. Obviously he, just like A.N. Kornev, the other investigator mentioned in the article (from the Sverdlovskiy Rayon Prosecutor's Office), was dismissed before the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA publication. Therefore "the question of his punishment was not examined at this point in time." That is a quotation from the reply by A. Pobezhimov, first deputy prosecutor of the RSFSR. The reply also mentions verbal punishments ("attention was drawn," "strongly pointed out," "instructed to step up monitoring...") meted out to some Prosecutor's Office staffers, and says that Moscow City Prosecutor G.I. Skaredov has been instructed to recover material damages from former external security staffers.

/9738

CSO: 1800/664

BATTERED WIFE KILLS ALCOHOLIC HUSBAND, GETS MINOR SENTENCE

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 May 87 p 4

[Article by D. Bratanovskiy and N. Morozov, Baumanskiy Rayon prosecutor, senior councilor of justice, under the rubric: "From the Court Room": "Interlocutory Decision"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] A murderer was on trial. For several days, the case had been heard in the People's Court of Moscow's Baumanskiy Rayon. The criminal had not denied the crime, witnesses had confirmed the facts, and the proof was there. Yet, when the five years suspended sentence was announced, the people in the courtroom stood up and applauded. It seems that even the state prosecutor took a long breath of relief. Indeed, the court decision was unusual and fair.

Was there anyone on Bakunin Street who did not know Ilyushin, who was known among other alcoholics by the nickname "Cigarette Butt"? Gloomy and unshaven, he always was the first in line in the wine store. His drinking buddies were afraid of him: he had done time in jail. He was more or less O.K. when sober, but after several drinks he would become wild and could hit someone with whatever object he could reach. He also loved to brag about his "heroic deeds."

"I keep my wife here," he would say showing a fist, "and Yuriy with the daughter-in-law I will throw out. I am tired of them and will splatter everybody all over a wall."

This was not a drunk bragging. Everybody in the building knew how nasty he was at home. His wife, Alevtina Nikolaevna, a quiet woman, put up with her husband's beatings and threats without any complaints. Yet, if the neighbors would see her at work, they would not be able to recognize her. She was a respected person and used to be highly regarded at the plant where she had worked for 25 years. A communist labor shock-worker, a photograph on the Board of Honor, it was all she, Alevtina Nikolaevna.

People at the plant respected her and ... felt sorry for her because her husband had worked there for some time and had "shown" himself. Whenever Alevtina Nikolaevna would receive a bonus, her husband would be at her side immediately: "Give me some money to fix a hangover!" He, naturally, never received any bonuses. In 1982, when she received the "Labor Veteran" medal,

her husband said in front of all the people: "Better that they would give cash." Next morning, she came in wearing a babushka, shamefully hiding black and blue marks. The party committee and the labor union committee looked at the matter philosophically: "First you get involved, and then you have more problems than you bargained for ..."

At this time, a disaster was already approaching.

Last year, after retiring, Alevtina Nikolaevna started to work as a cleaning woman in an institute. How else can you live on a pension when your husband is a drunkard? Meanwhile, he was fired from one job after another. He was thrown out of the Moscow Instrument-Making Technical School and found a job at an industrial association manufacturing plastic accessories. He was drinking as before. Once, the security guard Egorov tried to stop him at the checkpoint: "I will not let you go onto the territory drunk." Ilyushin became mad: "I will kill you!" And he raised a pipe wrench. With difficulty, he was overpowered, and this time he was fired in accordance with an article in the Code. This happened in October 1986.

Two months remained until the disaster.

The drunkard got away with everything. In spite of repeated complaints from neighbors in the house, who were awakened during the night by drunken orgies and screams coming from apartment No. 23, the district militia inspector never made a report, or even a warning. He explained that if the wife would write a complaint, it would be a different matter. Otherwise, what can one do without proper notification?

Meanwhile, wild rumors were spreading about the "hero" among the neighbors. Later, during the court hearing, these were partially confirmed. His first wife, M. Petrova, testified that when she was pregnant, he stabbed her several times with a knife, and that the marriage with this sadist was dissolved only after one of a number of sentencings by a people's court.

Rumors, rumors ... One of his drinking buddies told that in a drunken state, Ilyushin, after killing a dog, fried and ate it. Indeed, his son Yuriy's pet, a great Dane, lived with the family. And the father told his wife, "If you don't give me money, I will eat it." Alevtina Nikolaevna begged him not to touch the dog, "Here, take 60 rubles, only don't touch him." Father spent the money on liquor and started his threats anew. And then the dog ... ran away from home.

As weird as it may seem, all this is true.

It is also true that the alcoholic, who could get any terrible fantasy into his head, was not registered in a psycho-neurological clinic. Yet he did not consider himself an alcoholic. However, while in a state of drunkenness, he would completely lose control of his actions.

How he threatened others was discussed in the court hearings in detail. For example, a neighbor testified that he continuously threatened to kill his



wife, son, daughter-in-law, and granddaughter. When he went to sleep, he put an axe under his pillow. With the axe, he attacked a relative in November.

The days before disaster could already be counted.

The hour-by-hour "chronology" of these days was accurately traced by L. Safronova, senior investigator at the prosecutor's office for Moscow's Baumanskiy Rayon. The painstaking, scrupulous work of the investigator, which allowed the court to figure out the details of the drama that took place later, should be commended.

On December 31, Yuriy and his wife went to buy a new Christmas tree, to replace the one which the father had already sold to buy liquor. Alevtina Nikolaevna remained at home with her granddaughter. A neighbor came, and all of them sat in the kitchen. The husband entered the kitchen, walking unsteadily. "The holiday must be celebrated," he said, and after pouring half a tea glass of wine, tried to pour it into his granddaughter's mouth. They took it away from the 1 1/2 year old girl. The drunkard became mad and said to the neighbor, "Say farewell to your girlfriend, tonight I will kill them all."

At 5 a.m., sounds of dishes being broken, screams, and cries came from apartment No. 23. Alevtina Nikolaevna, half-dressed, ran out into the cold. The awakened house did not sleep. But nobody came to help.

"We were used to the scandals," the neighbors explained later.

In the morning of January 1, the father had a headache because of a hangover, and he was looking for a way to start a new fight. He entered the room where his son and daughter-in-law lived, and started to demand that they leave the house. He ran into the kitchen, started to throw food out of the refrigerator, pulled clothes off from the rack and the laundry from a string, broke dishes ... There was nothing to drink, and he emptied all the bottles with cologne and perfumes. Later in the evening, he repeatedly grabbed the axe, screaming that he "has nothing to lose" and "will kill everybody."

The house did not react. Five hours remained until the murder.

Till 3 a.m., the mother protected with her body the door to the room of the young people from the husband who had become mad. He raved. Finally, when he became tired, fell on the bed and started to snore, she hit him herself ...

Then she dialed 02.

"I killed a man," she said calmly.

The woman thought that her life was finished. But she had done the main thing: liberated her relatives and all others from the beast.

The court examined the minute details of the terrible case. The lawyers decided that it was not necessary to imprison a person who was driven to frenzy by her "victim." Alevtina Nikolaevna received five years suspended.

She, however, judges herself severely: until the end of her life, this pain will hurt her heart.

And who will write an "interlocutory decision" concerning the indifference of those people who day-by-day watched the terrible drama developing? Who?

13355

CSO: 1800/629

## LITHUANIAN NATIONALIST CONFESSES TO ANTI-SOCIAL ACTIVITY

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 19 May 87 pp 2-3

[Letter by Kostas Meidunas from Druskininkai dated 13 May 87 and published in TIESA 16 May 87: "Reality Changed My Convictions"]

[Text] Before I wrote this letter to the editor, I had deep thoughts about whether it would not be a hypocritical renunciation of my views and convictions with the purpose of mitigating possible punishment, and would not cause me to despise myself in the future. Many similar thoughts crowded in my head until I reached the firm conclusion that I can and even must write about my previous activity.

Life, as well as man's thinking, is not a stable constant. The assessment of the same events yesterday and today may be directly opposite. Events considered yesterday to be more or less tolerable absolutely cannot satisfy one today. This is clearly shown by the life-giving and persistent changes in the life of Soviet society and by the uncompromising struggle with anything which interferes with the development of our ideas and their realization. The enormous, essential, ideological, economical, and moral restructuring, the openness and democratization taking place on the scale of the entire country, has deeply penetrated into all levels of society. All this is being positively assessed in the world, and understandably we, that is, those who participated or still participate in anti-social activity here in Lithuania, especially cannot ignore these changes.

I began my illegal anti-social activity in 1980. Initially, it was limited to writing articles and poems with nationalistic content. Later, in 1982, I obtained a typewriter and compiled two pamphlets called "Lithuania is Our Motherland" and "Traits and Sores." I signed using the pseudonym "Rank and File of Lithuania." In the same year, 1982, I started to publish the illegal publication "Vytis" which I mailed to some familiar and unfamiliar persons. They did not know who was the sender. Trying to remain unknown for as long as possible, I did this alone and did not brag about my activity.

"Vytis" was a biased publication. I used false information taken from anti-Soviet foreign radio broadcasts. Therefore, most of the statements published in "Vytis" were, mildly speaking, far from being true if one looks at them from today's point of view. I felt this; however, at this time I could not

free myself from the labyrinths of my ideological illusions which had entrapped me already during my youth. It was exactly what had predetermined my subjectivism, the more so because in that period I was not able to see the positive shifts in our society, due in part to the lack of objective information and openness.

For example, when I was writing about the period of acute class struggle in Lithuania, I leaned only on those "facts" which, in my opinion, could in one way or another prove the "noble goals and heroism" of the armed nationalists, although I personally encountered a different truth. I knew that during the post-war years of destruction, all kinds of "Voices" were quite guilty in the sufferings of our people. During that time, I had many meetings and conversations with so-called "forest brothers," among whom there were both inveterate bandits and hard-working peasants, who could not find themselves in those conditions, neighbors whom I knew well. They looked at the amnesties announced by the Government with hope and were ready to put down their arms at any time, but "Voices" were urging: "Men do not become traitors! On the 5th, 15th, 20th, the Americans will come to help you. So, Brothers-Lithuanians, stand firm!" And the Brothers-Lithuanians stood firm. They were holding out until one after another senselessly perished in the depths of the forest. This is, in my opinion, a loss for our people.

No, at that time our misfortunes and sorrows were not on the minds of the leaders of the reactionary emigration. They needed a propagandistic noise, political capital, and as large as possible a number of senseless victims. Such was the reality.

On the other hand, some of the articles in "Vytis" were intended to over-emphasize the past, and to a degree, the present disorders and deficiencies in our society. However, I explained these not as the results of objectively formed conditions and the subjectivism of individual leaders, but as the general consequence of our entire social-political system. The moral degradation on the part of the population I explained by the loss of interest in religion and church, and by the atheistic education in family and school. In the same one-sided way, I also dealt with some events in the history of our people.

However, "Vytis" did not spread extreme anti-Socialist sentiments. I did not praise blindly the Smetona period in Lithuania, and wrote that the so-called Western way of life is unacceptable to us. I did not believe that forces would be found inside the Party able to tear apart and throw away the superficial and deceptive attire of social well-being, which many former influential leaders, who sought personal privileges and did not want or did not dare to notice the new requirements raised by life itself, tried to preserve. Here, most likely, is my answer to the question why I undertook such an activity. There were no other reasons. When I learned from foreign radio broadcasts about some underground publications, I decided that this is the most acceptable way for me also.

How do I assess my past activity today? I consciously engaged in nationalistic illegal activity, fully understanding the possible consequences, devoting all my knowledge and part of my moderate means to this cause. The daily stress and

fear that I might be exposed before finishing the typing and distribution of the next issue of "Vytis" had influenced my already weak health. I am convinced that under the present conditions, I would not have engaged in similar activities, even though not everything in life is yet as would be desired. However, changes are indeed taking place. They are taking place resolutely, and we must not only welcome them, but with all our strength and honest labor work to achieve these changes. I am even more convinced that any illegal dissident activity is not only senseless, but also harmful, and indeed criminal. Those who love their Motherland must stop such activity. During my time as a dissident, I did quite a lot, and I have the moral right to speak about this and to demand it.

Developing this theme, it seems, I must dwell on several additional questions.

As I have already mentioned, much of the material that I presented was based on various foreign "Radio Voices." Alas, I found out later that this is the most disinforming source of information. Therefore, I want to warn you: do not believe blindly, do not take all that they say at face value. An our youth must pay special attention to this.

True, relatively not long ago, when our press, radio, and TV were talking only about positive aspects and often passed wishful thinking as reality and reacted with delay to the most important events in the life of our country and abroad, some people listened to those "Voices" and, apparently, often believed them. Now, under conditions of developing openness, we receive enough objective data from our own information sources. A concrete example of this is my letter to the editor.

I want to say several words about various "liberators." We welcome those countrymen abroad who tell the world about our small people in their art works and cultural events, but we renounce those whose hands are stained with the blood of innocent people, and who dream of getting back their former lands and factories. No, "esteemed" gentlemen, not you, but those who in their Motherland survived the war horrors, who rebuilt the destroyed and devastated Lithuania, and who honestly work for her welfare in any situation, only those have the moral right to decide her future. And I have no doubts that under conditions of ever-widening democratization of the country, our republic will firmly follow the road of further astounding growth.

The various "Voices" often use the obsequious stories of defectors and other similarly obtained information. They often do not shun even clear fabrication. Tell me, how to explain that the so-called "Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church" published an article stating that on Memorial Day last year, atheists behaved noisily at the Druskininkai cemetery, thus interfering with the services. I am myself from Druskininkai, but have not heard about such a case.

Or even more. Priests B. Laurinavichyus and I. Zdebskis were killed in automobile accidents under circumstances which do not raise any doubts in honest, objectively thinking people. L. Shapoka was killed by criminals. Their trial was open and they were sentenced to the maximum allowed by the law.

Therefore, to state that the priests were killed by order of government officials is not only absurd but abominable.

I have not heard that even the most obvious lie of the overseas propagandists or local "chronicle writers" would be refuted. Some kind of vicious cycle is taking place. The "Chronicle" publishes undoubtedly false and consciously distorted information, which in some way is received abroad. From there, the "Voices" spread it through Lithuania, alleging that it has been received from reliable sources. Therefore, while typing and distributing illegal publications, I became convinced that many people do not believe them and condemn them. These people after receiving the publications turn them over to the appropriate authorities.

I want to ask forgiveness publicly of Irena Skuodene (about whose husband Vytautas Skuodis sentenced supposedly for "religious propaganda" I learned from the overseas "Voices") that I dropped unasked in the mailbox of her apartment several of my "works." As I learned later, she personally had turned them over to the appropriate establishment, as a very large majority of the other people to whom I had sent the illegal publications had done. Today I am thankful to them because this confirms once again how tired people are of senseless writings and how they want to live peacefully without hindrances. Those who are still entangled in the labyrinths of nationalistic activities should seriously consider this fact. If the people condemn such activity, it means that it is unnecessary. This may be unpleasant for us, but it is true.

Since I have already mentioned religion, I want to say that when I was studying and working, as well as now when I am a retiree working at home, I attended and still attend church, and nobody ever reproached me for that. I know religious people of various professions, and all of them work normally and are respected, and nobody limits their lives in any way. Quite a different matter are those who continuously grind the millstones of lie for the "liberators" settled in the West, about the imaginary persecution of religion. These fabrications are advantageous for them because they cannot find other ways of instigating the believers against the existing system.

Concluding my letter, I want to say that further democratization of our life is possible only under conditions of a lasting international peace. Thus, strengthening and seeking peace based on your personal abilities must become the life goal of each of us. Therefore, because I could not remain silent, I wrote this letter.

13355

CSO: 1800/632

## UZBEK PROSECUTOR REVEALS LAW AND ORDER EXCESSES

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI in Uzbek on 6 February 1987 carries on page 2 a 4,200-word interview by Odil Yoqubov, chief editor of the newspaper, and correspondent V. Sokolov, with Aleksey Buturlin, Uzbek SSR Prosecutor, entitled "Restructuring: People and the Law" in which Buturlin states that at the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s the same errors and shortcomings that created an unhealthy atmosphere throughout the republic also prevailed in law and order organs. In that period numerous unqualified or unacceptable people began work in law and order organs and legal studies departments, at times obtaining their position through bribes. Their lack of professional training and moral education first in secondary school and then in university are still evident in their work. Today, far too many law and order workers ignore citizens or regard them as criminals, and numerous people have been arrested and prosecuted groundlessly. Such workers understood that to advance themselves they had to carry out the orders of their superiors rather than demonstrate their superior qualifications. Buturlin states that former Internal Affairs Ministers Yakhyayev and Ergashev, their deputies, and numerous oblast internal affairs chiefs gathered around them only people of like character, and such scoundrels made it possible to circumvent socialist laws within law and order organs.

Buturlin points out that the republic Ministries of Internal Affairs and Justice, and Supreme Court, must do a lot of work to carry out restructuring tasks. Already, numerous oblast, city, and rayon prosecutors have been changed, and a great many mid-level employees fired. Young cadres have been brought in and they are investigating cases of deception, bribery, grand theft, and abuse of position. A study center has been formed by the office of the prosecutor to retrain hundreds of workers, and steps have been taken to improve law studies departments. Unfortunately, Buturlin stresses, steps are taken too often only after someone has been arrested and convicted without reason, which proves that the ranks of law and order organs are still not fully purged.

The interviewers note that some of the lackies who carried out Yakhyayev's bidding may have thought that they were fulfilling their duties conscientiously, even though innocent people were accused and crimes were covered up. To this, Buturlin responds that they understood what they were doing was illegal, and that the cases of Dilmurodov and Boriyev proves that those who operated outside the law were only concerned with carrying out illegal orders from above.

Buturlin comments on cases in which the prosecutor's office reduced charges against offenders. In 1978-1983 the state suffered losses of R400 million due to theft of cotton, and some sources estimate that more than one billion rubles were lost in the republic for cotton never produced. Hundreds of farm and plant leaders exploited the situation and got rich through bribery and theft. Law and order organs often freed such people from criminal responsibility or reduced charges or handed out lenient sentences. Only a very few people, guilty of enormous wrongdoing, were brought to justice, but often the republic Supreme Court accorded them clemency or even pardoned them. Thousands of workers at all levels took part in false reporting and deception but generally were never charged with anything. According to Buturlin, now various former leaders who committed serious crimes act as though they were forced to do so by the climate of the times and say they will kill themselves if they are prosecuted. But, to excuse them is contrary to the law and social justice.

#### UZBEK DEPUTY PROSECUTOR DISCUSSES QUALITY PROBLEM

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 28 February 1987 carries on page 2 a 1,600-word article by Q. Roziqov, Uzbek SSR First Deputy Prosecutor, entitled "Accountability for Quality" in which he discusses widespread violations of technical, labor, and state discipline by enterprises of the Ministries of Light, Local, and Food Industries, and Consumer Service and the republic State Agroindustrial Committee. Such violations lead to the production of huge volumes of worthless and substandard industrial and consumer goods. Investigations by the prosecutor's office show that the primary cause of unsatisfactory production by various republic enterprises and unions is that leaders of ministries and agencies have not paid adequate attention to the problem of quality nor instituted sufficient supervision over technical discipline and standards. Material, labor, and financial resources are being squandered in the production of worthless goods or products that people do not want. He urges law and order organs to establish strict supervision in this area, intensify the fight for quality by taking legal steps to restructure economic processes, and take measures to help accelerate socioeconomic progress. He concludes by stating that the republic prosecutor's office has produced a comprehensive plan of action aimed at carrying out laws regarding the production of worthless, unfinished and substandard goods.

#### UZBEK AGENCIES URGED TO IMPROVE LEGAL EDUCATION

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 28 February 1987 carries on page 1 a 1,100-word lead editorial entitled "Legal Education" which states that letters reaching the newspaper's editorial office indicate that a number of party, trade union, and komsomol organizations, law and order organs, and the legal departments of ministries and agencies are not paying sufficient attention to the organization of legal education among the populace. In particular, the work of Znaniye Society organizations is slack and most people's universities of legal departments do not offer regular instruction in this area. There are definite cases of false reporting and deception in the work of the Samarkand Oblast Znaniye organization, and the people's universities there and in Andizhan, Surkhandarya, Syrdarya,



and Namangan Oblasts are slack in holding seminars, instruction, and other forms of legal propaganda. In many oblasts, cities, and rayons, law and order organs and public organizations have taken a formal approach to legal education. The editorial urges workers of judicial departments, the police, prosecutor and court organs to become more involved in explaining Soviet laws and regulations to workers, and conducting regular talks on the protection of socialist property and the fight against speculation, bribe-taking, hooliganism, drunkenness, and drug dealing. More effective lecture and display materials must be produced, and party committees and primary party organizations must focus on coordinating all work relating to legal education.

#### UZBEK OFFICERS EXECUTED FOR KILLING POLICEMAN

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 13 February 1987 carries on page 4 a 100-word item entitled "Sentence Executed" which reports that the Uzbek SSR Supreme Court tried the case of Sh. Jonzoqov, former chief of the State Automobile Inspectorate of the Tashkent City Internal Affairs Administration, and former GAI employees Kh.B. Jamanov and S.A. Qambaritdinov for the murder of police Lt Col Abdumalik Yoldoshev during the performance of his duties, and sentenced the three to be shot. The pleas of the convict for the sparing of their lives were rejected by the Uzbek SSR Supreme Court Presidium and USSR Supreme Court Presidium. The item concludes, "The court's sentence of Jonzoqov, Jamanov, and Qambaritdinov was executed."

#### PROSECUTION OF UZBEK MENTAL PATIENT TERMED UNJUSTIFIED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN'ATI in Uzbek on 13 February 1987 carries on page 2 a 700-word item titled "Abuse" under the rubric "They Reply to OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN'ATI" which publishes an official reply from Q. Roziqov, Uzbek SSR First Deputy Prosecutor, and D. Asadov, First Deputy Minister of Health, to an article that appeared in the 10 October 1986 issue and dealt with the case of Boboali Jorayev, who was sentenced to prison despite his classification as a mentally ill invalid and subsequently denied invalid pension benefits. Roziqov states that the prosecutor's office reviewed the case and found that the Gagarin Rayon People's Court decision of 25 February 1985 to absolve Jorayev from criminal responsibility and commit him to a mental illness hospital for treatment was appropriate. At the time of the original trial Gagarin Rayon Internal Affairs investigator A. Kenjayev failed to make available to court psychiatric experts all of the medical documents concerning Jorayev's health with the result that their decision regarding his health was unjustified. A. Kenjayev and Gagarin Rayon Prosecutor D. Karimov were severely reprimanded for this. Taking into account the danger Jorayev's crime presented to society the prosecutor's office found no reason to pay him benefits for the period of incarceration. Asadov states that a special commission of the Ministry of Health found that physicians who examined Jorayev had committed disciplinary errors. The commission also conducted a certification of psychiatric expert commissions to determine the level of their knowledge and their qualifications to serve as expert witnesses to the court.

## DRUG TRAFFICKING BETWEEN FERGANA, TURKMENISTAN COMBATTED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 14 February 1987 carries on page 3 a 1,100-word article by N. Naimov entitled "Do Not Toy with a Person's Health" in which he discusses police efforts to combat the trafficking of drugs between the Fergana Valley and Turkmenistan. He cites the success of Bukharan police who last year siezed nearly 100 kg of koknar and 3 kg of hashish (nasha) from passengers at the Bukhara-1 Railroad Station which lies on the route from Fergana to Turkmenistan. Dealers can buy a kilogram of koknar in the underground market in Fergana for 50 rubles and sell it for 400 rubles in Turkmenistan. Naimov cites the case of 26-year old Asad Yunusov of Kokand who obtained 850 grams of opium (qoradori) which he could have sold for 30,000 rubles had he not been arrested on 10 October 1986. Another case is that of 80-year old Ali Yoldoshev who attempted to sell opium (afyun) in January 1986, but was arrested and given a suspended sentence of three years by the Kokand City People's Court. The next day Yoldoshev and a young accomplice were arrested at the Bukhara 1 Railroad Station. According to the Bukhara Oblast Internal Affairs Administration, despite regular inspection of trains, drug-related crimes increased in the first half of last year.

Naimov discusses the situation in neighboring Alat Rayon of the Turkmen SSR. According to the rayon prosecutor and internal affairs department, several people have been prosecuted for growing narcotic substances and drug addicts have been registered. During spring planting last year, massive inspections of fields revealed that poppies (koknar) were sown on 3,000 square meters of fields on 7 kolkhozes and one sovkhoz. The raykom buro held a meeting to discuss the serious shortcomings in the organization of the anti-drug campaign and appropriate action was taken against leaders of administrative organs and village soviets. The buro adopted a comprehensive set of politic and organizational measures, and in the course of carrying them out discover further deficiencies. For one thing, various communists are involved in drug use. One investigation revealed that communist M. Kholliyev of Kolkhoz imeni Engels was growing poppies on 44 square meters in his courtyard. To save himself Holliyev placed the blame on his wife, and the primary party organization believed him and merely reprimanded him. However, the raykom buro reviewed his case and expelled him from the party. In all, four communists were expelled last year for complicity in drug trafficking. Another case involved the father of N. Ne"matov, first secretary of the rayon komsomol committee, who planted .02 hectares in poppies in the courtyard of the home he shared with his son. When this fact was revealed Ne"matov claimed not to have seen the poppies blooming. The party organization recorded a severe reprimand in Ne"matov's party book, and the rayon komsomol committee relieved him of his position and membership in the buro. Now, other komsomols are more alert to events taking place around them and the number of drug-related crimes has declined in the rayon. Unfortunately, Naimov points out, drug dealing is not confined to Alat Rayon. There are a substantial number of people who get high on hashish (bang) in Bukhara City and Vabkent, Sverdlov, and Kagan Rayons, and so far these party committees have not mounted a serious fight against it.

## DRUG DEALING IN KHOREZM OBLAST DISCUSSED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 28 February 1987 carries on page 3 an 800-word article by own correspondent F. Zohidov entitled "Not Sad, But Tragic" in which he discusses several cases of drug dealing and use in the Khorezm Oblast. Qodir Yoldoshev of the Khanka Rayon center was tried in people's court for growing and using hashish (nasha) and was sentenced to two years. However, because of his advanced age the court suspended his sentence. Zohidov questions this leniency and asks whether anyone addicted to hashish (bang) can be trusted. Jongir Olloberganov of Kolkhoz imeni Karl Marks in Khazorasp Rayon was arrested while selling drugs and in his home were found 11 kg of hashish (nasha) and 950 grams of opium (qoradori). Moreover, he had planted poppies (koknar) on the territory of the farm whose leaders claimed to be unaware of the fact. However, their apathy is demonstrated by the fact that narcotic substances are still grown there. Zulfiya Masharipova is 35 years old and worked as an accountant for the Khiva City Consumer Cooperative. Drugs changed her character to the point that she became a dealer and was arrested for speculation. Her co-workers said she had been a good woman but gradually changed until she grew silent and distant, and of course her work suffered. Zohidov concludes by saying that dealers in hashish (bang) and koknar continue to operate and it is the duty of everyone to fight drug dealing.

## IDEOLOGICAL CONTRABAND SIEZED BY TASHKENT CUSTOMS

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 19 February 1987 carries on page 4 a 900-word article by A. Abdubannopov entitled "The Country is not Gateless" in which he discusses the work of Tashkent Customs. Formerly customs inspections were carried out by the USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade, but beginning last year this service has been performed by an independent state organ. Now, Tashkent Customs is subordinate to the Chief Administration of State Customs Inspection under the USSR Council of Ministers. Customs workers not only stop contraband items that are harmful from the trade and economic viewpoints, but also the passage across the borders of ideologically alien articles.

Abdubannopov states that the number of foreigners who come to the Soviet Union through Tashkent has increased, just as has the flow of Soviet citizens going abroad. Airport customs workers always treat passengers courteously, but occasionally must enforce the law. Abdubannopov cites a case in which a young man who works as a translator abroad has returned with a set of "gifts." These are car key chains each with a small globe that has a map of the world on it. However, the northeastern and Central Asian parts of the Soviet Union are distorted on the maps so that they do not form part of the Soviet Union. Obviously, this is not a "mistake," but a deliberate distortion created for ideologically subversive purposes. Evidently, Sh. Karimov, the young Soviet citizen who works abroad, does not comprehend this.

Abdubannopov notes that Tashkent Customs has a display of many examples of such articles designed to pervert the ideological convictions of the Soviet people. Among such articles are religious literature, journals alien to

Soviet society, violent and perverse videocassettes, colorful books in various languages, shirts with words on them that praise the U.S. Army or that have shameless pictures on them.

Abdubannopov also cites the case of a recent international flight into Tashkent that carried a rather large postal package which, when opened, was found to contain 100 books of religious content printed in West Germany. However, no one could be found at the Tashkent establishment to which it was addressed who would say he had ordered such books.

9439

CSO: 1836/410

## ARAL SEA PROBLEM DISCUSSED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI in Uzbek on 20 February 1987 carries on page 2 a 2,200-word article by Ma"ruf Jalil entitled "Face to Face with the Aral" in which he discusses the problems raised by the drying up of the Aral Sea. Jalil spoke with Candidate of Biology Shavkat Kamolov, Senior Scientific Associate of the Institute of Botany of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences, who was working at the Muynak Rayon Forestry Agency. Kamolov said that the lowering of the Aral is affecting weather and precipitation patterns. Formerly the snow line in mountainous areas was 3,000 meters, and now it is 3,500 because of the decreasing amount of water. Kamolov remarked that if the run-off and overflow water of Kashkadarya, Bukhara, Khorezm, and Tashavuz Oblasts were diverted into the Aral its level would rise by one meter. Otherwise, the level will continue to drop until the Aral splits into two dead lakes. Salt is damaging cotton crops and woodlands because winds blow the salt onto fields up to 300-500 kilometers away. T. Abashev, Director of the Forestry Agency, said that scholars do not share their concern for the fate of the Aral and have failed to study the problem and provide effective help. Chief Forester Koptursun Ablakimov said that as the Aral has receded, 25,000 square kilometers of land have been exposed and the salt content of the remaining water has increased by 45 percent. Thousands of hectares of woodlands have dried up and farmers continue to plant crops instead of trees, even though in two or three years farming will be impossible.

Jalil drove to the Aral Sea with Kamolov. Even several kilometers from the shore they could see a dozen ships marooned in sand and plants dying from the salt. Then, Jalil attended a mobile scientific session on the Aral problem held by the Uzbek Academy of Sciences, Karakalpak Obkom and Council of Ministers, and presided over by Academy President P. Habibullayev, in Nukus. Speakers stressed that the drying of the Aral posed enormous problems for the Autonomous Republic. Thus far, the water level has dropped by half, its salt content has reached 23 grams per liter, and 23,000 square kilometers of land have been exposed. The plant and wild life around the Aral are in desperate straits. The Amudarya Delta has become untillable, which means a loss of 5 million tons of feed grain from its 800,000 unproductive hectares. According to official estimates the drying up of the Aral and the saline precipitation will wreak R100-200 million worth of damage to the republic economy and reach R600 million soon unless effective measures are taken. Formerly, the Aral influenced atmospheric moisture and temperatures up to 450 kilometers away. Beginning in the 1970s weather

patterns changed. Summers turned hotter and winters colder, with cold snaps at the end of spring and beginning of autumn and drier air. These conditions made it impossible to grow cotton in the northern part of the Karakalpak ASSR. The incidence of epidemic and somatic diseases dramatically increased because of the worsening ecological conditions, especially relating to the supply of drinking water which also contained alarming levels of herbicides and pesticides.

Jalil states that the Aral problem was first seriously examined at a scientific conference in Nukus in 1980 and by a regional session of the Central Asian Department of VASKhNIL there in 1985. Both meetings produced recommendations for ministries and planning organizations, but not a single one of them was implemented in 1980-1986. Jalil points out that the water resources of Central Asia are limited and cannot be increased, so that the leaders and officials of planning organs, ministry administrations, and design organizations must implement party and government decisions in order to restore the ecological balance in the republic.

#### UZBEK GEOLOGISTS SET UP INFORMATION SYSTEM

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 11 February 1987 carries on page 2 a 300-word article by M. Komilkhojayeva entitled "An Aid for Geologists" in which she reports that the methodological expedition for geological and economic research of the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Geology and the board of the republic Science and Technology Society have created the "Mineral" automated system which will provide up-to-date information to scientific associates of geological organizations and enterprises in Central Asian republics. The system provides information with the help of computer programs that contain symposia documents, scientific libraries, and microfilmed geological reports. "Mineral" is linked to the republic system of scientific and technological data and uses the same format. It can provide over 500,000 pieces of information annually.

#### REPORTS ON UZBEK WORKERS IN NONCHERNOZEM ZONE

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 11 February 1987 carries on page 1 a 300-word item by G. Gorelik containing two reports entitled "The Bakhor Settlement is Going Up" and "A Progressive Work Method in Use" in which he states that workers of the Kashkadarya column of Uzvladimirvodstroy Trust have begun construction of the Bakhor Settlement in Malenkiy City of Vladimir Oblast. In the first phase, it is planned to build three 24-unit apartment buildings, a kindergarten for 160 children, a trade center, cafe, and restaurant. In the other report Gorelik states that workers of the Dzhizak column of Uzvladimirvodstroy Trust used the method of capital grading on fields of the Pamyat Lenina Kolkhoz of Gus-Khrustal Rayon for the first time last year. On basically marshy fields farmers grew 36 centners grain per hectare and 230 centners potatoes. Now, leaders and specialists of other farms in the area are holding seminars and evening courses aimed at introducing this method on a broader basis.

9439

CSO: 1836/411

END